ISCTE ◈ Business School
Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

HOW DO POLITICAL ACTORS TRACE VOTERS?

Artur Filipe Ribeiro Mendes

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Supervisor:

Prof. Rui Vinhas da Silva, Associate Professor with aggregation, ISCTE Business School, Departamento de Marketing, Operações e Gestão Geral

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Abstract

The following dissertation examines the factors that influence peoples' voting behavior. In order to understand where peoples' opinions come from, the American political marketing is going to serve as a reference model.

This paper will provide an electorate analysis for targeting procurement purposes. The goal is to show the reader, through a political targeting, how Parties can understand better public opinion.

Due to the location of the writer, the empirical research will be held in Portugal. Results show how different groups of voters think towards different issues, and what measures, given the party's position on those issues, are more appropriated for raising public popularity.

Keywords: Political Marketing, Targeting, Public Opinion, Public Popularity

Sumário

A seguinte dissertação examina os factores que influenciam a decisão de voto dos eleitores. De modo a entender a origem das opiniões das pessoas, o marketing político Americano irá servir como modelo de referência.

Este documento providencia uma análise de eleitorado a nível de targeting. O objetivo é o de mostrar ao leitor, através de um targeting político, como poderão os partidos entender melhor a opinião pública.

Dada a localização do autor, a investigação empírica realiza-se em Portugal. Os resultados mostram como diferentes grupos de pessoas pensam relativamente a diferentes problemas, e que medidas, tendo em conta as posições do partido, são mais apropriadas para aumentar a popularidade pública.

Keywords: Marketing Político, Targeting, Opinião Pública, Popularidade Pública

Glossary

- Political Action Committees (PAC's) – "A popular term for a political committee organized for the purpose of raising and spending money to elect and defeat candidates" (OpenSecrets.org, 2016)

- Political Actors (PA) – Political parties, politicians, governments, lobbying organizations…

- GOP – Republican Party

- EU – European Union

- POTUS – President of the United States

- VP – Vice President

- PC – Political Correctness

- United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) – Political Party that led the UK out of the European Union

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- Federalist papers – a collection of 85 articles and essays promoting the ratification of the American Constitution

- Incumbent – Politician who already holds office and is running for another term

- Cost per impression (CPM) – The cost for each advertisement casted

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Resumo

A maneira como cada indivíduo efetua as suas decisões políticas, está dependente da sua forma de pensar. A tipologia utilizada para rotular politicamente uma pessoa, traduz-se em esquerda e direita, moldada por mentalidades liberais e conservadoras.

Para os partidos políticos, tudo se resume a esta perceção para definir o seu eleitorado.

Ao invés de olhar para cada eleitor individualmente, os agentes políticos focam-se em opiniões coletivas, que necessitam de ser estrategicamente abordadas. Esta estratégia prende-se com dois fatores crucias: O marketing, e a sua inter-relação com o sistema político.

Cabe a cada partido convencer o maior número de pessoas a votar, e face à crescente competitividade democrática, o marketing vem se revelando como cada vez mais importante.

A obtenção de votos é habitualmente conseguida através de uma massificação da opinião pública, que é influenciada por diversos fatores políticos, sociais, e de propaganda. Tais fatores são necessários entender para perceber melhor de onde vêm as opiniões das pessoas.

Uma das principais ferramentas do marketing político prende-se com o targeting. Este método permite a cada partido político a possibilidade de conhecer melhor o seu público-alvo. A investigação empírica conduzida neste trabalho permitiu concluir que as ideologias de cada eleitor, condicionam o comportamento e a estratégia adoptada por cada partido político.

1.Introduction

The aim of this study is to identify which factors influence voting behavior, and how can Political Actors use that information for targeting methods. This dissertation focuses on finding out what can conservative and liberal views offer to politicians who are running for elections.

1.1   Theme, Purpose of the Research, and Objectives

Time has been shaping the political ground. Democracy has become more direct, more local, and with more debate going on.

Today, there is no longer one candidate people can vote for. The number of parties and voters, across most western societies, increased significantly, which means, more competition and more consumers to deal with (Lee, 2014). Higher competition brings a higher number of voters, parties, and information, increasing the volatility of party-switching. With a better access to information, the average person is put into a position where he or she can demand better performances from the politicians who are fighting for their vote. This exposure to demand rantings, encourages political actors to "professionalize" the political market, by addressing voters as consumers.

According to (Moufahim & Lim, 2010), the course to comprehend political marketing, is conditioned by understanding two main approaches: Marketing activities, and its interrelationship with the political system (Moufahim & Lim, 2010)

The American political system is seen to be of great influence across the world, and has even the capacity of a domino effect on the political systems of other countries (Negrine, 1996). Being the world's biggest superpower, the US is a natural instigator of trends, and with the increase of globalization, countries are now more exposed to this kind of influence. (U.S.News, 2016). With this ~~bared~~ in mind, the American political system will serve as a reference model for this research, as it can be considered a reliable sample to understand how political marketing works in the modern world.

Between the 30's and the 60's, communication consultants didn't have any political training in the US, and campaign managers were usually marketing specialists from diverse business areas (Correia, et al., 2010). In Portugal, this specialization of political marketing activities began shortly after the fall of the New State (Estado Novo), in 1974, where elections were controlled by State forces (Correia, et al., 2010). The professionalization of political

marketing, evolved as the modernization and liberalization of the media increased, giving it the capacity to easily shift voters' mindsets (Rothschild, 1978).

The lack of research in political marketing, urges further enquiry in a field that is directly connected to people's lives (Moufahim & Lim, 2010).

Euro-skepticism and anti-establishment mindsets are currently dominating political discourse across the world. Countries are aligning their own political affiliations to a new conservatism movement, making today, the most relevant time to understand how this shift of beliefs is made.

Public trust in the media has been declining, and it's now at its all-time low (Nicolaou, 2017). This distrust in the media has alienated people from national broadcasters and mainstream institutions, who seem to get more out of touch with public opinion outside their metropolitan area. The misrepresentation of people's views during Brexit and Donald Trump's election, raises the issue of how accurate do media outlets really cover public opinion.

The need of targeting people comes from the diversity within it, as just in the US alone, there are more than 219 million men and women, from more than 6 ethnicities, 20 religions, with completely different revenues, eligible to vote (Statistic Brain , 2016). It comes with no surprise then, that voters get organized into segments. This allows parties to trace the right profile of the voter they need to be addressing.

It requires a well thought plan by political actors, to adapt their necessities to their realities, which means drawing their goals realistically, before trying to target everyone (Borges, 2014).

Political targeting offers a possibility for both media outlets and political actors to improve their coverage of peoples' views, contributing to a more direct and reliable democracy.

The purpose of this research, is therefore, to understand how political actors can keep track of public opinion, and manage their key constituency, the electorate.

This dissertation aims at understanding what factors influence the way people think, and how their conservative or liberal views, help politicians win elections.

1.2   Structure
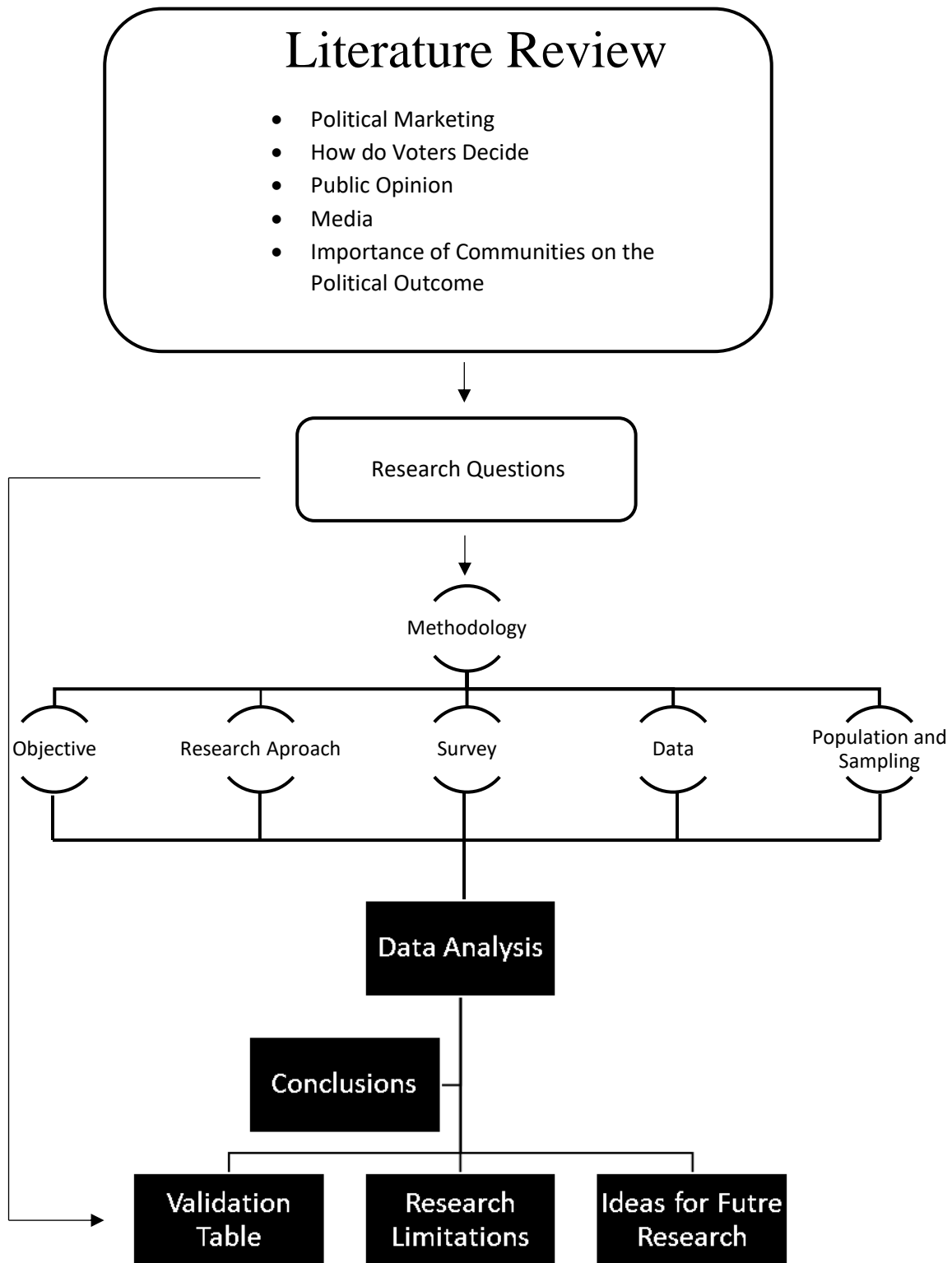
Apart from the previous introduction, this dissertation can be divided into 6 different stages: The first one is composed by the literature review, where the main factors of influence, regarding voting behavior, are analyzed.

The second chapter, presents a list of research questions that this paper intends to answer.

The third stage, the methodology, compiles a record of information retrieved from a set of answers people gave about different social issues.

Later, on the fourth stage, there will be conducted an examination of the data obtained in the previous section, which will be used to simulate a fictional targeting test.

The next topic displays a list of conclusions collected from the targeting test, including a validation of the research questions mentioned before.

The sixth and last stage of the paper, discusses its limitations and possible ideas for future research.

1.3 Background

Across the structure of this paper, several concepts and strategies from American politics are discussed. For an effective frame of the reader, a small description of the American political rules and history is provided below:

1.3.1 Political system in the U.S.A.

The American political system began to be built through its Constitution in 1787, composed by 7 articles and 28 amendments.

The Government is comprised of three main branches: Legislative, Executive, and Judicial.
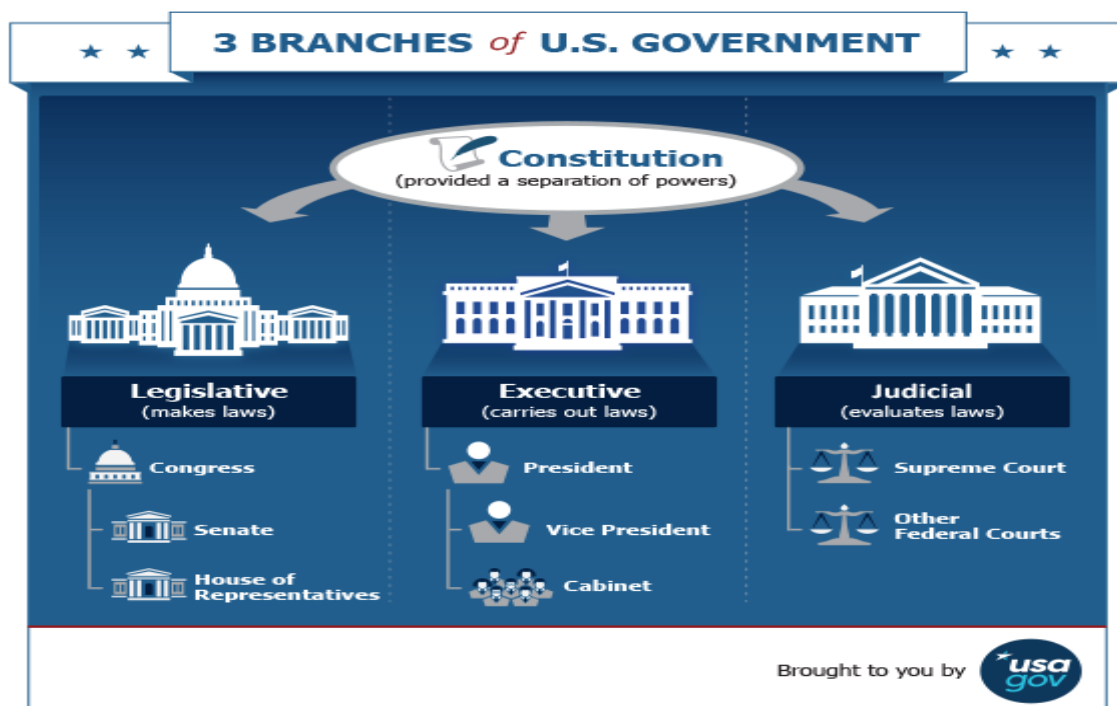
Figure 1 – The three branches of Government (USA.Gov, 2017)

The legislative branch consists of the Congress, and is considered to be the most important branch of Government, as stated in its Constitution. It's responsible for making federal laws, which correspond to common legislation for all 50 states (National Government), and not to the state Government, which deals with more specific legislation from each state.

Congress is divided by 2 house legislatures (bicameral): The Senate, and the House of Representatives (HOR) (USConstitution.net, 2016).

According to the Constitution, Congress has the power to:

1. Change the federal court system by adding or taking away courts
2. Change the jurisdiction of federal courts
3. Pass new laws that override the Supreme Court decisions, if they're unconstitutional
4. Propose amendments
5. Investigate executive orders and officers
6. Override a president's veto on a law, if there's a 2/3rds vote in both houses
7. Refuse to pass laws that the executive branch wants
8. Refuse to appropriate funds for executive programs
9. Impeach and remove judges

(USConstitution.net, 2016).

Both houses of Congress are responsible for the same federal duty, making laws, but they're particularly different in some ways.

The Senate is composed by 2 senators from each state, making a total of 100 (2*50 states). Each senator must be at least 30 years old, an American citizen for 9 years, and a resident of the state they wish to represent. Originally, senators were selected by state legislatures, which meant they were relevant political members of a state's elite class, but due to the arrangement of the 17th amendment, both senators and representatives began to get elected directly by their people (Staff, 2009)

On the other hand, the HOR is composed by 435 members from all 50 states. Each state is proportionally represented in the HOR according to the size of its population, and no state can have less than 1 representative (f.e. California has 55 representatives, and Vermont only 3).

To be a member of the HOR, the representative must be at least 25 years old, an American citizen for 7 years, and a resident of the state they intend to represent (USConstitution.net, 2016).

There are 2 types of reasons why there are 2 different legislative houses: Historical and Practical (The Bicameral Congress, 2015).

Historically speaking, by the time the Constitution was being written, because its framers were from states with different interests, there were big disagreements on what type of legislature to have. States with higher populations, wished legislatures to be chosen by a proportional representation, meaning their states would have more power, this was called the "Virginia Plan". Contrarily to this, states with fewer people, intended an equal representation, called the "New Jersey Plan", so they wouldn't be in the domain of the largest states (Staff, 2009).

After many retaliations, the mayor of New Haven Connecticut, Roger Sherman, brokered the deal by presenting the bicameral system, comprised in an upper house, with equal representation (Senate), and a lower house, with a proportional representation (HOR). This deal is known as the "Connecticut Compromise" or "The Great Compromise" (Ferrand, 1962)

Practically speaking, the main reason why there are 2 different houses, is to avoid giving too much power to some states.

The 4th President of the USA, James Madison, stated in the federalist papers, "In Republican Government, the legislative authority necessarily predominates. The remedy for this inconveniency is to divide the legislative into different branches, and to render them different modes of election and different principles of action, as little connected to each other as the nature of their common functions and their common dependence on the society will admit" (Madison, et al., 1788). The idea of one house checking and limiting the power of the other is known as "Intrabranch Check" or "Checks and Balances" (Britannica, 2016)

Framers wanted the Senate to be protected from public opinion, because of their exposure to riots. To assure the protection of the Senate, senators were given a 6-year term, shielding them from the rantings and raving of the opposition.

Being the most deliberative institution in Congress, and also the most insulated from public opinion, the Senate is responsible for confirming public ministers and ratifying treaties. The framers believed Senators would be better rulers and judges of character, if their beliefs of what was best for the people, weren't influenced by people themselves. This belief that a

representative is in better conditions to deliver people's interests based on his views rather on what people think, is often known as a "Trustee" (The Bicameral Congress, 2015).

The framers of the Constitution, were a bit skeptical about the ability of the average American to understand and influence public policy, so they gave Americans direct influence over one part of Government, the HOR. By being directly elected by the people of their district, representatives must actively respond to their electoral desires, acting as delegates, as they are vulnerable by the democratic removal mechanisms provided to the American people. This could be verified by the 2-year term representatives were given, assuring they were responsive to their voters (USConstitution.net, 2016). (Staff, 2009).

Regarding the powers of each house, there are also some differences that can be found.

The Senate has the power to:

1. Hold impeachment trials
2. Ratify treaties, if it has 2/3rds of the vote
3. Confirm the appointment of executive officers and court judges

As for the House of Representatives, it has the power to:

1. Bring the President and other federal officers to impeachment trials
2. Nominate the President when a candidate does not have the majority of the electoral votes (270)
3. Decide all tax related bills (often called as the "Power of the Purse")

(The Bicameral Congress, 2015).

The second most important branch in Government, is the Executive branch. This part of Government has the role of executing the law, or govern the country at a federal level. It's composed by the President of the United States (POTUS), the Vice-President (VP), and the Cabinet.

The President is entitled to:

1. Appoint senior executive officers
2. Oversee Government actions
3. Defend the Constitution of the United States
4. Veto Congress laws
5. Call Congress into special sessions
6. Nominate Supreme Court justices
7. Nominate federal court judges
8. Pardon people convicted by courts
9. Carry out laws and refuse to carry court decisions
10. Carry all military actions (Commander in Chief)

(The Bicameral Congress, 2015).

The President's powers can grow beyond the previous list, but his main role as POTUS can be found in his oath of office "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." (The Founding Fathers, 1787)

As for the Vice-President, he is entitled to:

1. Break ties in the Senate
2. Replace the POTUS, and preside over him in special conditions (The Bicameral Congress, 2015).

Lastly, the Cabinet is responsible to conduct the executive actions of each department through their respective appointed executive officers. Their executive conduct can be against Congress preferences, as long as it isn't unconstitutional (USConstitution.net, 2016).

The last and least powerful branch of Government, according to many political scientists, is the judicial one. This branch is accountable for interpreting the law, and is composed by the Supreme Court, and other federal courts.

The formation of federal courts is dependent on Congress, as the US Constitution specifically states "The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office." (The Founding Fathers, 1787)

In the Judicial branch:

1. The judiciary checks both legislative and executive branches, by assuring their decisions aren't unconstitutional.
2. The courts issue warrants in federal crime cases
3. The chief justice presides over impeachment trials (only in last resort this privilege is provided to the VP)
4. Courts can invalidate laws and executive orders (The Bicameral Congress, 2015).

There is a clear interdependence of branches throughout the entire Constitution. This distribution of powers is related to the fear of the Constitution's "Founding Fathers" of having their country ruled by a titanic leader. Therefore, the power of each branch, is always balanced and conditioned by the other two (The Bicameral Congress, 2015).

1.3.2 Conservative vs Liberal views

In most Western societies, like the United States, the two main political ideologies that define people from the "right" and people from the "left", are conservative and liberal views.

In the US, elections are usually won by one the two biggest political parties, the Republican Party, also known as the GOP, or the Democratic Party (T, et al., 2017)

Many people will ultimately get affiliated to a political party on the belief they represent values coincident with their personal ideology. This is the point where the "democrats are liberals and republicans are conservatives" assumption emerges.

In general, conservatives believe in small Government intervention. They tend to think a large Government represents a threat to individual liberty. Former republican president, Ronald Reagan, even once said "Government is not the solution to our problem, Government is the problem" (Reagan, 1981)

Conservatives are more likely to be big supporters of the free market, a place where companies can operate without any Government restrictions. Other solid conservative beliefs are related to strong military defense, high spending in the private sector, small taxes, liberty, and patriotic and religious values (T, et al., 2017)

Liberals, on the other hand, are normally supporters of big Government intervention. Many believe a bigger Government is able to solve bigger problems, making them less keen of the free market, as they don't believe it favors everyone equally.

Liberal principles include higher economic regulations, big taxes (especially on the wealthy and when it benefits minorities), environmental policies, higher business regulations, less guns, and more equality. Liberals aren't also very keen on military spending, as they would rather see more money to be used on social programs (T, et al., 2017)

Unlike conservatives, instead of liberty, liberals see equality as the priority (Political Ideology, 2015).

1.3.3 Voting method

The American elections are decided through an Electoral College method. This means that whoever wins the majority of the votes of a state, will get the correspondent number of electoral votes. The system was built to prevent bigger states to have an overthrowing power over the smaller ones. The candidate who reaches 270 electoral votes, or more, is elected the next POTUS.

The current Electoral College of the US is distributed in the following way:
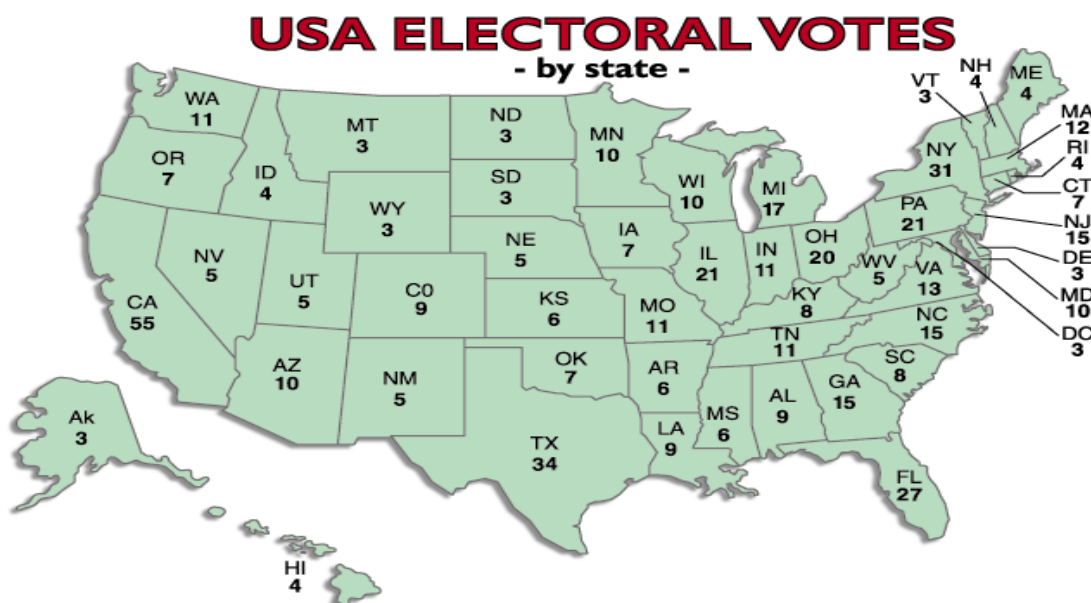
Figure 2 – Electoral Votes (World Atlas, 2016)

2.Literature Review

2.1   Political Marketing (PM)

2.1.1 Definition

Marketing and Business are birds of a feather that flock together. According to the American Marketing Association, "Marketing is the activity, set of institutions, and processes, for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offerings that have value for customers, clients, partners, and society at large" (American Marketing Association, 2013). Like in any other business, in politics, there are markets, competition, and consumers to deal with.

Marketing studies conducted in politics, is what is called of "Political Marketing". Researches have defined it as "a relatively new terminology in mainstream political science literature" that "implies the usage of marketing tools, techniques and methods in political process. In other words, political marketing is the outcome of the marriage between marketing and politics" (Menon, 2008). The term began to be used in the United States, when the number of contests for public offices sky rocked, requiring more political campaigns than ever before (Correia, et al., 2010).

2.1.2 History

Political marketing began its first phase in the beginning of the XIX century. Until 1950, the electorate was designed by party-loyalty, highly influenced by unions and syndicates. Campaigns were very basic. The press was the only relevant divulgation tool available, and candidates would usually communicate directly with the people. This was called the pre-modern era of PM (Correia, et al., 2010).

The modern era of PM started in the 50's, where political parties moved to a more diverse and pluralist form of representation, weaker in terms of content, but stronger in communication. Political campaigns went from an amateur point of view, to a more specialized and professionalized management of tasks, with strong investments in TV advertising (Correia, et al., 2010). The 34th American elections, portrayed the first political campaign of the modern era, with Dwight Eisenhower defeating Adlai Stevenson in 1952.

The first steps to the post-modern era were given in the 90's, coupled with huge advancements in technology, that allowed a significant specialization of marketing tasks, communication tools, CRM software, and a whole new form of business (e-commerce).

Pre-Modern	Modern	Post-Modern
• Direct Contact	• Indirect Contact	• Direct Contact x Indirect Contact
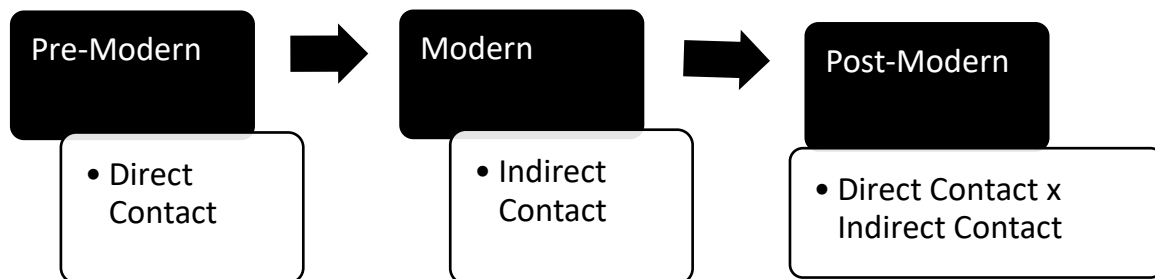
Despite the high adaptability in different fields, marketing principles are not an exact science to fully understand how people are going to vote, serving only as a mean for political marketing to develop its own methodology (Moufahim & Lim, 2010).

With all this bared in mind, PA come across with the need of adapting themselves to the changes in the political sphere, which can keep occurring as technology and democracy keep innovating.

2.1.3 Political Relationship Marketing (PRM)

Political Relationship Marketing consists on building long-term relationships with consumers of a certain brand or product.

Christian Grönroos, a Finnish academic specialized in relationship marketing studies, defined the concept as "The process of identifying and establishing, maintaining, enhancing, and when necessary terminating relationships with customers and other stakeholders, at a profit, so that the objectives of all parties involved are met, where this is done by a mutual giving and fulfillment of promises" (Grönroos, 1997).

Aspects like ethnicity and religion are usually strong bridges of engagement (Henneberg, 2004). Barack Obama is a good example of its effectiveness. By being part of an ethnic minority himself, Obama was able to create strong bounds with African-Americans and other race minorities. In both his elections, he managed to hold more than 90% of African-American votes, the best results in American history (see Figure 14 and Figure 15). Popular policies like "Obamacare", helped minorities gain access to healthcare, lowering the uninsured American rate from 16% to 11.9%. (Caroline, 2016). The "Black Lives Matter"

movement is another example of ethnic engagement. This was a program promoted by Obama, to help African-Americans fight for their rights against discrimination. These type of programs allow Obama to automatically transfer that popularity to whomever he chooses to endorse, making it no surprise, why Hillary Clinton, in the general elections of 2016, held the most votes from African-Americans and Latinos in every single state. (Kirk & Scott, 2016)

With so many competition running around politics, parties must come out with innovative ways to differentiate themselves. This differentiation can come from understanding how a strong relationship can be built between parties/candidates and their voters.

Another way parties may connect with voters, is through social marketing. "Social marketing is an approach used to develop activities aimed at changing or maintaining people's behaviour for the benefit of individuals and society as a whole". Everything related to fighting climate change, poverty, or helping local communities, is always a sure thing to gain approval points. (NSMC, 2016). A simple humanitarian gesture can boost a company's reputation. Word-of-mouth (WOM) can spread quickly these days, especially with the help of social media.

Technology has been a big driver of information too. Sophisticated CRM tools help parties understand how to approach their electorate. By allocating voters into segments, according to their preferences or habits, it becomes easier to draw profiles (Handley, 2017).

Business cannot be a one-sided partnership, it must take into account an exchange process between numerous actors. The same happens in politics, when a party/candidate is asking people for their vote, they need to offer voters and shareholders something in return, so that they understand the benefits of supporting them.

2.2   How do voters decide?

People can be influenced by numerous things when making a decision. When political scientists tried to study voter's behavior, and how they decide which candidate they are going to vote for, they came across 3 main factors: party loyalty; candidate characteristics; and issues involved (How Voters Decide, 2015).

2.2.1 Party Loyalty

According to political scientists, party loyalty is the biggest predictor of a person's voting behavior. People tend to identify themselves with a political party for several reasons, which start being developed in an early age. Some even develop a psychological attachment

to their party. This process is called "Political Socialization", which explains how different factors of society that a person gets exposed to, help shaping his political views over the course of time (Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977).

The main sources of political identity, according to some researches, are related to family, social groups, education, and the political conditions a person lives through (How Voters Decide, 2015).

2.2.1.1 Family

Family members are the first ones to express opinions to their children. People usually get their first political impressions through their relatives, and they can either admire them, resulting in a more likely adoption of the same ideologies, or they can reject these same beliefs as a form of rebellion (Stamp, 2010).

2.2.1.2 Social Groups

Closely to family members, are the social groups each person belongs to. These groups can help people feel engaged with the same issues and mindsets that the rest of the community shares.

Race, gender and religion play an important role in social group forming.

Most African-Americans and Jewish people, for example, tend to be liberal, while white Christians are more likely to go conservative.

Latinos are also mostly Christian, but unlike the majority of white man, they usually identify themselves as liberals.

The reason why minorities tend to be liberal, is because most of them receive a significant part of Government benefits for being disproportionally poor, a principle highly associated with liberal policies. To this way of thinking, economic self-interest plays a big role in voting decision, and it also explains why wealthy white conservatives, are more likely to favor policies of lower taxes and less Government intervention.

Women are usually also more liberal than men, particularly on the issue of national defense and military spending (How Voters Decide, 2015) (Lockerbie, 2013).

2.2.1.3 Education

The formal way political opinions get shaped is through education. In schools, students get to learn about political related values like liberty and equality, and from there, they can start developing a more conservative or liberal mindset.

Many conservatives have a habit of thinking that American schools and textbooks skew liberal orientation, which can be true, due to the fact that most public-school teachers come from Union's membership, a community highly embedded with liberal ideologies. But, whether or not most public schools are liberal, it's a bit of a gamble to claim students will adopt the same beliefs of their teachers.

It has also been concluded that the better educated a person is, the higher are the chances he or she will adopt more liberal views on issues like women's rights or abortion. On the other hand, studies also correlate high levels of education with conservative views towards Government support on health insurance plans, or action programs to help African-Americans (How Voters Decide, 2015) (Chalabi, 2016).

2.2.1.4 Political conditions one lives through

The last relevant decision factor political scientists identified in party loyalty, are the political conditions a person lives through.

If a person grew up, for example, during the Great Depression, and developed an admiration for the president's Franklin. D. Roosevelt New Deal program, it's likely that person would defend pro-Government intervention.

On the other hand, if a person comes from the Reagan era, a time where politicians were pointing Government intervention as the problem rather than the solution, it's more likely for that person to criticize Government intervention (How Voters Decide, 2015).

It's important to point out that these factors are just generalizations, and it doesn't mean that exceptions to the rules mentioned above cannot be found.

2.2.2 Candidate characteristics

The second voting decision criteria are the characteristics of the candidate, as any person would enjoy voting for someone they like.

It has already been clear that race, religion, or gender play a big role in politics, and for voters, it's easy to build stereotypes based on these features.

One other characteristic that voters pay attention to, is social background. The more familiar background a candidate has with a voter, the more likely is for him to get that person's vote, as it becomes simpler for the voter to assume they're socially alike.

Personality also plays its part in personal profiling, as people tend to vote for a candidate whose personality traits are of their taste (Mlodinow, 2012).

2.2.3 Issues involved

The last voting criteria is related to where candidates stay on issues. This category can currently be considered the least important on a candidate's priority list, as most of their electorate is usually uninformed or uninterested about Government policies, which is understandable given that many public issues may be complicated for the common voter to understand. In general, people are ignorant, and it has been proved that the more informed a voter is, the more relevant, issues become for them.

There are 2 ways of judging a candidate's policy on issues, according to political scientists: Retrospective and Prospective. Both types add information costs to voters, but there are some differences between them (Amato, et al., 2009).

Retrospective voting refers to when a voter chooses a candidate based on his past experiences. The problem with this kind of method, is that it requires a lot of research and time to build a solid background on a politician.

Prospective voting, on the other hand, is grounded on how the voter imagines the candidate to behave in the future, which can be speculated through the candidate's personality.

Furthermore, political scientists discovered 2 types of political issues: Spatial and Valence (How Voters Decide, 2015).

2.2.3.1 Spatial issues

Spatial issues refer to the type of issues that can awake different reactions and trigger different opinions.

When political actors are discussing minimum wage and tax related bills, for example, some people may favor higher wages or taxes, and some may favor less of both (How Voters Decide, 2015).

2.2.3.2 Valence issues

When political scientists talk about valence issues, they are referring to those for which all people share the same view.

For liberals and conservatives, although they may share different ideologies, it's very hard for them to disagree on more Government transparency, or less Government corruption (Fisher, 2017).

2.3   Importance of communities on ~~the~~ political outcome

With the presence of such a diverse set of cultures, the rise of communities seems like a natural thing. A community is a group of people who share and protect common values. Such values can be religious, ethnic, social or any other type.

Apart from the members each association holds, there is also a big number of people, who aren't formally a member of a group, but are highly influenced by them. By keeping unions and associations happy with their approach on issues that mater for them, political actors are likely to gain the support of the respective community (Wilson , 2015)

2.6.1 National Rifle Association - NRA

The National Rifle Association (NRA) is a non-profit organization founded in 1871 that protects the rights of gun ownership. It's estimated that the group has over 5 million active members (2013) (National Rifle Association, 2017), but the NRA's influence can't be measured just by those numbers. Not everyone who owns a gun, is a member of the NRA, and by defending the right for an US citizen to hold a gun, you're defending all gun owners as well.

When comparing the percentage of people who own a gun, in Figure 6, with the results from the last three elections (Figure 9, Figure 10, and Figure 11), it can be found that the higher the rate of gun ownership, the more likely is for that state to be red (Republican). All states with gun ownership rates higher than 50 % were won by the GOP in the last 3 elections, whereas the states with rates below 20 % were conquered by Democrats (except some swing states like Ohio).

This tendency for states with most gun owners to be Republican, have to do with the position that each party holds on gun ownership and gun control. Typically, Republicans are more favorable of the 2nd Amendment, which states that, "the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed" (Fathers, The Founding, 1787). On the other hand, Democrats are keener on gun control policies, a more liberal mindset that usually isn't very popular among gun owners.

2.6.2 Hispanic and Latino Community

The largest minority in the US, are the Hispanics and Latinos. This community accounts for nearly 10% of the population eligible to vote, and 16% of the whole American population, which makes it highly important for PA.

According to Figure 15, besides being the largest minority in the US, Hispanics have also the highest growth rate in the country, and are expected to represent nearly 30% of the American population by 2050, almost double of what it is today. Latinos traditionally vote Democrat, roughly 1/3rd of Hispanics voted for the GOP in the last three elections (Figure 13, Figure 14, and Figure 15), which suggests, that with such a low support from Latinos, the Republican Party will have a very rough time in winning future elections.

2.6.3 African American Community - AAC

African Americans are the 2rd largest minority in the US. They account for nearly 12% of the population, and have been increasing in all states since 1990 (Black Demographics, 2010).

Most African-Americans live in the south (Figure 7), where most of the Republican states are.

Historically speaking, Republicans were always pro human rights. The first Republican president, Abraham Lincoln, succeeded in his war against slavery, but lately, it's the Democratic Party who is associated with equal rights, even after all the historical discrimination against people of color, and after several Democratic presidents like Andrew Johnson, Woodrow Wilson or John. F. Kennedy, vetted any Republican attempt to promote equal rights. This hostile approach from the Democrats was due to fear of angering their own electorate, who were mainly low income white working men, with no recognition of minorities' rights. Some Democratic presidents like Harry Truman, tried to turn the wheel on discrimination, but the opposition among its own party and electorate were way too strong to overcome. It was only until 1964, after the death of JFK, where his successor, Lyndon Johnson, after collating with the Republicans in Congress, managed to become the first Democrat president to successfully pass a pro human rights bill. Lyndon Johnson's presidency was the turning point for the Democratic Party. Republican successors like Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, in an attempt to collect the unsatisfied Democratic electorate, shifted the Republican concerns, from civil rights to economic and drug issues. Democrats on the other hand, followed a path of social policies and equal redistribution of wealth, which were very popular among minorities (Diffen, 2017).

In the last three elections, the percentage of African-Americans voting for the Republican Party didn't go beyond 8% (see Figure 13, Figure 14, and Figure 15). Even more surprising, was the fact that in the last 2016 elections, where there was a big racial division, more African-Americans voted for Donald Trump (CNN, 2016) than on the other previous

homologous, completely the opposite of what the media was suggesting. States like Florida and Ohio, with significant rates of African-Americans, switched from Democrat in 2008 and 2012, to Republican in 2016 (Figure 9, Figure 10, and Figure 11).

Despite minorities traditionally vote Democrat (Diffen, 2017), states like Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana, which hold the most African-Americans, usually vote Republican. This can be partially explained by the Democrat federal policy, which makes poorer states, like the ones mentioned above, to receive, in federal taxes, almost double for each dollar they pay (White, 2013). This attracts the poorer groups of people (who statistically are mostly minorities) (The Guardian, 2016), to come live in these states, but it also encourages white people, who are still a clear majority in these states, to blame the Democrats and minorities for high levels of crime and unemployment. Besides feeding stereotypes on minorities, these policies make the wealthier states monetarily responsible for the poorer ones, and given that the GOP protests against this type of policies, minorities are less likely to support them.

Republicans assume that a strong economy will raise the quality of life for all Americans, but when you are raising an economy with historical discriminations, that tends to beneficiate some groups over others (Al-Gharbi, 2016).

Despite holding 12% of the entire population, targeting states based on the abundance of African-Americans, seems to make no difference under the Electoral College method. Nevertheless, this still can be important for the future. The Democrats already have a big support of African-Americans, even though the majority is in "red states", which tells them exactly the right people to target, the white.

On the other hand, Republicans could be interested in finding out which swing states are registering the highest growth rates of African-Americans (f.e. if Ohio is registering a higher growth level of African-Americans than white people, then it should focus on targeting African-Americans from Ohio).

2.4   Public Opinion

Public opinion reflects the way people feel about issues, and their political leaders (Davison, 2017)

The way people think, or what they find important, helps political actors to understand what's popular among their electorate. It can tell them what to say, what to do, or even how to dress. Public opinion polls are usually a good way to keep track of a politician's popularity (Public Opinion, 2015).

For political scientists like Benjamin Page and Robert Shapiro, authors of "The rational public", the key to comprehend public opinion is to look at the collective opinion rather than the individual voter. Aggregated opinions are much more coherent and stable than individual ones, and have the capacity to effectively reflect reasonable judgements about political decisions. One voter's ignorance, can be bleached by a larger group's views, which taken together, add up to the rational public (Page, 1992).

Political scientists concluded that public opinion can be influenced by three main structures: Government, Private groups, and the Media (Public Opinion, 2015).

The Government is usually skeptical about the ability of people to judge policies, so they tend to reveal as little information as possible. Public issues can be complicated, and many voters, most of the time, are either uninterested or confused by them (Campbell, et al., 1960)

Being informed about issues costs both time and money, and since many people aren't interested in investing on them, they would rather give away that judgement to someone they trust. It makes total sense, therefore, for some people to stay less informed, serving as an example of "rational ignorance". The "American Voter" book, from 1960, concluded that "Most people don't have opinions at all" as most of the times these are both changeable and random. It was found that in 1960, 47% of Americans couldn't name the member of the house who was representing them. In 2010, that number increased to 59%. Besides limiting public information, political parties also use the manpower of volunteers and paid interns, to handle information they want (Campbell, et al., 1960) (Public Opinion, 2015).

Private groups and other less-political organizations like churches, can also have a significant effect on the way people see Government and its policies (Wilson , 2015) Usually, these interest groups already exist, like the NRA for example, which educates people about the benefits of less gun control bills. But sometimes, these groups can grow up around specific issues that are dominating political discourse. Usually, the better financed a group is, the better are its chances of influencing public opinion (Public Opinion, 2015) An example of these private organizations are "Think Tanks", which both liberal and conservative groups sponsor to produce research that can change peoples' minds. On the right you have the Heritage Foundation or the American Enterprise Institute, while on the left, you can find groups like the Brookings Institute. Think Tanks can be "an institute, corporation, or group, organized to study a particular subject (such as a policy issue or a scientific problem) and provide information, ideas, and advice" (Public Opinion, 2015).

The third structure that shapes public opinion is the media, which will be intensively discussed in the next topic

2.5   Media

Over the course of time, people have gained too much freedom to be controlled by force.

For the great American economist Thorstein Veblen, the best way Governments can control its people, is by what he calls "fabricating consumers". Thorstein believed that if wants could be fabricated, people would get trap into becoming consumers. The business press of 1920, also mentioned that people could be kept away from hindrances, by pushing them into the superficial things of life, like fashion or jewelry consumption (Requiem For The American Dream, 2015). In its famous book "Public Opinion", Walter Lippmann, one of the major intellectuals of the XX century, said that "The public must be put in its place" so that the responsible men could make decisions without the interference of the bewildered herd (Lippmann, 1922).

For the elected officials, it's important to control how people think, and they currently do so, by manipulating the news cycle. News are dependent on what the media chooses to present or not to present, and with the growth of technology, there are now numerous sources of information that can spread news quickly (Beder, 2004).

By providing information to the public, the media is decreasing information costs and getting people involved in politics. Rather than researching for new information, which takes both time and effort, various media organizations tell people stuff they think it's useful. The consumers of news, the public, are important for media outlets. This means that news organizations need to create attractive content to their viewers, which in many cases, tend to be tailored into segments of people they already know. The wealthier and more educated a person is, the more likely is for he or she to follow the news regularly, which means that some large groups of people are under-reported. (Keele & White, 2011).

Apart from the content the media chooses to cover, what's most important is what it doesn't cover, as it makes it really hard for people to formulate opinions about candidates, and to take a stand on an issue, when they don't have the information to properly do so (Keele & White, 2011).

2.4.1 Print Media

The first form of media was printed, and for many years, newspapers and magazines were the population's main source of information. Today print is no longer a priority for information consumption, but that doesn't mean it isn't important, as the majority of media corporations still rely on print for their news. Most major stories in the US, come from newspapers like "The New York Times" or the "Washington Post", that often provide material for other forms of media to publish. This can be verified by the amount of times these newspapers are referenced in other station's news (Briggs & Burke, 2009).

A big advantage of print media, is that it offers a more detailed and comprehensive analysis.

There is also a tendency for print media to be the main source of news for educated elites, whose opinions have a big influence in policy making (Briggs & Burke, 2009)

2.4.2 Broadcast Media

The second, and perhaps, the most important form of media is broadcast. This category includes channels like television and radio, which currently reaches more Americans than any other form of media (Lynch, 2015).

Television has transformed politics. There is no longer a political firsthand experience, instead, people get their information through a meek interpretation of small sentences and symbols that the media chooses to present (Johnson-Cartee, 2010).

It's important to go back to September 1960, when the first televised debate took place between John. F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon. Experts say, that without television, Kennedy wouldn't have won. It all had to do with the image each one presented. Most people who heard the debate on the radio, thought that Nixon won, but those who watched it through Television had a very different opinion. Political debates are now decided by the way you look, how you present yourself, how you sound, and how you can connect with the audience. Before Television debates, people only read or saw photos of the candidates, they rarely got to see them in person.

Television allowed people to judge politicians on a whole new level. Parties now have something else to take into account when considering nominating a representative (Webley, 2010).

Money is also becoming an issue for broadcast media. For each election that passes, the amount of spending in Television increases dramatically (Fowler, 2013). It's estimated

that the 2016 elections could reach a record value of $11.6 billion just in advertising (Fulgoni, et al., 2016), emphasizing the importance of a strong fund raising candidate.

There are no longer only 3 TV channels available, in fact, just in the US, there are more than 1700 (Statista, 2015), making it even harder for a PA to reach the right electorate. With such a diverse number of voters to persuade, different places to reach them, and high costs involved, parties need more than ever, to carefully plan their advertisement strategy. That strategy became clearer when in the year of 2002, George W. Bush passed the bill "Help America Vote Act" or HAVA, which obliged every state to supply data of their voters, in terms of residence, name, party affiliation, and much more. The law was meant to prevent the same person to vote multiple times, which have happened in previous years (Fulgoni, et al., 2016). This disclosure of information, led to the appearance of micro-marketing techniques, which is considered, by some, to be the future of political campaigning (Bacon, 2016). Micro-marketing began to be used in the reelection of George. W. Bush in 2004, and later, continued by the democrat's primaries in 2008, where both Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, counted with specialized firms in micro-marketing to assist in their campaigns (Fulgoni, et al., 2016). These firms focused on analyzing the psychographic characteristics of voters to adjust them into different clusters. After allocating voters in their respective cluster, parties could develop different approaches to each and every one of them. This kind of segmentation allows parties to understand, in retail, the preferences and backgrounds of voters (Fulgoni, et al., 2016).

The 2012 Obama For America (OFA) campaign, created a tool called "The Optimizer", which gathered voter's information like viewing habits, to find the best periods to cast their ads. OFA soon realized that putting their ads between the favorite TV-shows of their persuadable voters list, was far more cheap and efficient, than allocating them to the mainstream broadcast hours in the news or pre-match games. This allowed OFA, to give the right message, to the right public, at the right time.

Figure 4, shows a comparison between the advertisement spending of the democrats (Obama) and republicans (Romney) in the 2012 general election.

The total spending in advertising of the democrats was higher than the republicans, but the cost per ad was $65 cheaper. This gave the Democratic Party financial room, to stuff television with more of their ads, while the Republican Party, although better financed, was out in the dark in terms of targeting.

But "The Optimizer" was not perfect, and as sophisticated as it may have seemed at the time, better ways of targeting emerged. One big limitation of "The Optimizer", was that it

didn't provide the frequency and reach goals of the voters it was trying to reach. OFA could easily be casting very few ads to some voters, while overcrowding others.

In the 2016 elections, parties began to explore the exposure on household-level television (Fulgoni, et al., 2016). A study comparing "The Optimizer" with the use of frequency goals, in the 2012 election in Las Vegas, Nevada, revealed that costs per impression (CPM) increased from $73 to $278. Although parties would have to pay more for each ad, they would also need almost 4 times less ads. Summing up the numbers, it could be found that the new method, besides more effective, was even cheaper (Fulgoni, et al., 2016) (see Figure 5)

The other form of broadcasting media is the radio, which compared to Television, is less effective on reaching audiences, although some talk radio shows, like conservative ones, matter a lot in the political media landscape (Schoen, 2015).

2.4.3 Internet

The emerging form of media nowadays is the Internet. Internet news began as an online version of print newspapers. First, there were political blogs, and then came sites dedicated to politics, which tended to polarize into right and left wing pages (Li, 2015).

It may be a little misguiding when writing about the effects of the Internet on politics, as it changes so fast, but as an adaptable platform, the Internet is great for quick news updates. This can be good for breaking stories, but some argue that it harms journalism by pushing news outlets to create more hot takes rather than real deep reporting (Li, 2015).

But perhaps the epicenter of news, nowadays, comes from social media. Social media grew to be a place where PA can manipulate mass communications for their political purposes, and now, nearly every politician has at least a Facebook page or a Twitter account, besides a whole staff dedicated to their online presence and engagement. This can be very practical for learning about a candidate's positions, but it certainly has a big bias behind it (Madhok, 2015)

The 2004 American elections, marked the beginning of a growing social media usage (Fulgoni, et al., 2016).

UKIP's former leader, Nigel Farage, said in a recent media conference, that if it weren't for Youtube, UKIP would have been nothing more than a fringe party (Farage, 2016).

One other example of social media usage can be found in the 2016 American general elections. This was by far, the American election with the most social media activity in the history of the United States (Kottasova, 2016).

Just on Facebook, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton accounted for 12 million and 7.9 million followers before the election, today, those numbers are 23 and 10 million respectively (Meyer, 2016). In terms of engagement, Trump was a clear leader through almost the entire pre-election time (Figure 16 and Figure 17). Some political experts even began to call this the "Twitter Election" (Business Insider, 2016). It's estimated that Trump uses Twitter, almost 24 times per day.

There's no clear evidence that Donald Trump won because of social media, but there is certainly enough of it, to prove that that this form of communication it's getting more and more relevant in politics (Khan, 2016).

Being controversial, gives Trump immediacy and media coverage free of charge. "It's better to be infamous, to never be famous at all" (Roger Stone). His lack of political correctness, couples perfectly with his electorate, as it allows him to speak through people's ordinary language (Bacon, 2016).

Expenses are moving from TV to social media, but despite this change, they are not replacing each other. Television maintains its predominance in communication. Most of Trump's and Hillary's supporters didn't even use any social network, and were only aware of their presence on it through TV (Butler, 2017).

2.4.4 Media Coverage

The dilemma of how skeptical should people be about news, comes from the bias within it. Newspapers like "The New York Times" or the "Washington Post" are known to be liberal, but they are partially balanced by more conservative ones like "Fox news" or the "Wall Street Journal". This doesn't necessarily mean that news institutions lie to the public, because if they did, people would just read the news someplace else (Groseclose, 2012).

Voters can easily be persuaded to take a particular view on an issue, by the amount and type of coverage it gets (Groseclose, 2012). The amount of coverage can be known as "priming". Priming is the process by which media outlets manipulate what issues are important for voters, by giving them more coverage (Kott & Citrenbaum, 2010). Another way the media can influence voters' opinions is through "framing". This is the process where media outlets decide to interpret a subject for people (Kott & Citrenbaum, 2010). Take the example of Nigel Farage, one of the biggest critics of media coverage, by claiming that media

outlets never discuss the new and exciting possibilities that Brexit may bring to the UK, but only focus on the disastrous consequences (Farage, 2016). The tone of coverage each newspaper gives, is naturally related to the political identity of each institution, which brings it back to the issue of bias, and whether or not journalists really think they're bias.

The reason why Brexit and Trump came out as bolts from the blue, was because media outlets got completely out of touch, along with the exaggeration of political correctness, with the problems involving the majority of the population. What made Brexit happened, and got Trump elected, were a lot of ordinary people, who don't usually vote, but basically just had enough, and wanted change (Farage, 2016). Just like UKIP's former leader, Trump targeted mainly the white male working class, the ordinary people, which to some extent, were fed up with political correctness. The success of their campaigns, was grounded on knowing their audience (Bacon, 2016).

Trump defined himself as the "Anti-establishment" candidate who was fighting against a Government insider, Hillary Clinton, easily recognizable by her political pedigree. Trump's unpredictability, was contrasted by a calm and reasonable profile of Clinton, (Zelizer, 2016) but as the republican's former campaign manager would put it "The only thing worse in politics than being wrong, is being boring" (Stone, 1994).

Table 1 shows a comparison of media coverage between the two American candidates.

percentage of news reports
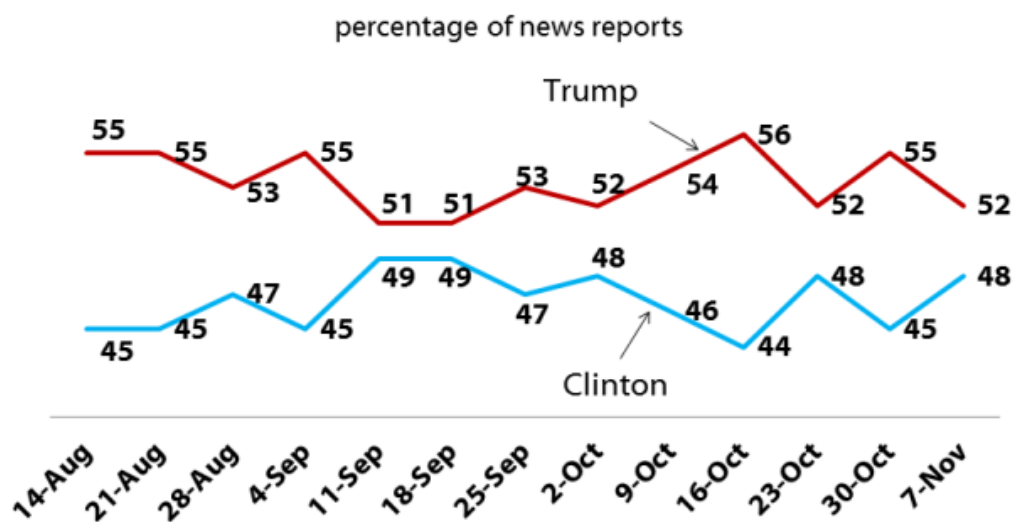
Table 1– Media coverage (Patterson, 2016)

People were entertained by Trump's controversial behaviors, and although most of the content run about him were negative (see Table 2) it stole Clinton precious media time.

Andrew Marsden, a brand consultant and former Marketing director of Britvic, stated "There's an old adage in marketing that if you want to hurt the enemy, steal their oxygen".

Trump received more coverage because his policies were more controversial, his ideas were new, and his behavior was different. "The news is not about what's ordinary or expected, it's about what's new and different". Trump was able to deliver desirable content for media coverage, and his message of "Make America Great Again" was far more often heard than Clinton's "Stronger Together" (Bacon, 2016).

2.4.5 Micro-targeting and Social Media

As media institutions kept evolving, PA found new ways of studying people. Related to the growth of social media, and its users, came new forms of targeting. A recent method used in the latest global elections, consisted on targeting users from social networks through some of the analytic features that these platforms provided.
The media, and particularly, the internet, have given PA a serious opportunity to explore voters.

The most recent trend, on social media, is called micro-targeting, which consists on using consumer data and segmentation tools on social networks for advertising purposes.

During the last American elections, Trump's digital campaign manager, Brad Parscale, managed to efficiently target potential voters by pushing conservative values through customized adverts on Facebook. The analyst, says that thousands of different ads were tested on different groups of people he already knew (thanks to Facebook's big data storage), to see which ones stick better to some people. "We were making hundreds of thousands of them (ads on Facebook) programmatically. … (On an) average day (we would make) 50,000 to 60,000 ads, … changing language, words, colors, changing things because certain people like a green button better than a blue button, some people like the word 'donate' over 'contribute'", said Parscale in a recent interview (Handley, 2017).

The former digital campaign manager, revealed that both Facebook and Google, provided the Trump campaign with some of its employees to help them win elections, which Facebook replied: "We offered identical support to both the Trump and Clinton campaigns, and had teams assigned to both. Everyone had access to the same tools, which are the same tools that every campaign is offered". Brad Parscale also revealed that he would ensure that every of his employees from Google and Facebook were Republican, making sure that each of their political views were tested before joining the Trump campaign (Handley, 2017).

Another good example of the growth of this trend, are micro-targeting specialized firms like Cambridge Analytica (CA). The company dedicates itself to combining data mining and data analysis with targeted communication strategies (Russon, 2017). CA has participated

in some of the biggest conservative campaigns like Donald Trump's "Make America Great Again", "Ted Cruz 2016", "Ben Carson for President 2016", or the "Leave E.U." campaign that originated Brexit (Cambridge Analytica Official Website, 2017).

3.Research Questions

Type of analysis	Research Questions
Electorate	RQ1: Do personal values help political parties build their voters persuasive list?
	RQ2: Do they indicate PA who to target?
	RQ3: Would they tell PA what people like?
	RQ4: Would they tell them what people dislike?
	RQ5: Can conservative and liberal values reveal how a person is going to vote?
Engagement	RQ1: Do personal ideologies show PA how to create long-term relationships with voters?
	RQ2: Would they show politicians how to engage with people?
	RQ3 Can liberal or conservative views tell PA where to reach voters?
	RQ4: Can liberal or conservative views tell PA how to reach voters?
Financial	RQ1: Do voters' personal ideologies help PA how to reduce advertisement costs?
	RQ2: Do Voters' personal ideologies help PA how to optimize advertisement investments?
	RQ3: Can they reveal how much money PA need to spend?
Behavioral	RQ1: Can liberal and conservative views tell how a politician should act?
	RQ2: Do they show how to control public opinion?
	RQ3: Can liberal and conservative views tell what politicians should avoid?

4.Methodology

4.1 Objective

The previous section provided an explanation regarding the factors and platforms that influence voting behavior. In order to get a clearer view on the way people think, voters need to be segmented according to similar characteristics that have an impact on voting decision. The goal of the empirical research, is to find out which gains can targeting offer to PA, based on the ideas previously discussed.

This methodology will provide information, regarding people's views, that can contribute to a political targeting that can be carried out by a fictional conservative party.

4.2 Research approach

This research will follow a quantitative analysis. It will consist on a survey, containing 22 questions about different social issues.

4.3 Survey

Annex 11 – Survey

4.4 Data

The information examined in this research, will be divided into 7 dependent variables and 22 independent variables.

Given the fact that some of the variables are too much of a sensible topic to be directly asked, some questions will be addressed indirectly.

The questions will have 2 different options of answer, which will allow to understand if the voter is more liberal-oriented or conservative-oriented in each topic.

Each question corresponds to an independent variable, and each dependent variable corresponds to a group of questions.

All answers in blue account for liberal answers, and all answers in red for conservative ones.

The dependent variables are distributed in the following order:

4.4.1. *Profile of the candidate*

The first variable created from the survey is called "Profile of the candidate". The goal is to understand how people would like to see a politician behave or think. This variable is a combination of the answers retrieved from questions 6, 7, and 8.

Question 6 is meant to find out if people are more engaged with a candidate that prioritizes education over freedom. The conservative answer will suggest that people prefer a candidate who is more concerned about the educational system, and therefore, the future of its country. The liberal answer, the idea of letting your own children have freedom to do the things they love, indicates preference for a tolerant and pro human rights candidate.

Question 7 examines the posture of the candidate. If people emphasize with a bustling politician, the answer given should be "Curiosity". On the other hand, if the answer is conservative, it's likely that the voter will appreciate a candidate who is professional and respectful in his discourses.

Question 8 shows how a candidate should perceive its country's path. Respect for elders, shows a concern about the foundations of the country, which typically entails in older generations' values. Respect for different cultures, shows an ideology more oriented to an open and diverse society.

Question 6 – What is (in your opinion) more important for children to have? (Jonathan Haidt: The moral roots of liberals and conservatives, 2008)

Proper education	•Conservatives are keener on traditional values, which can translate in strict educational principles •(TedTalks, 2008)
Freedom to do the things they like	•Liberals are far more open to new experiences than conservatives • (TedTalks, 2008)
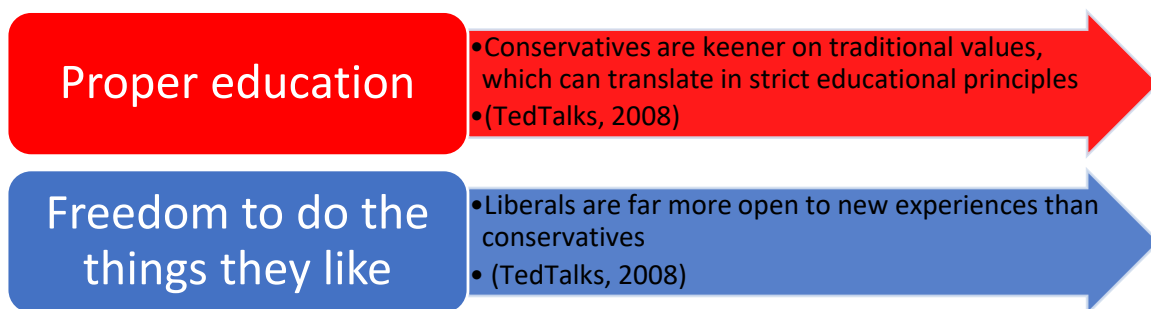
Question 7 – What would you appreciate more in your children? (Ingraham, 2014)

(Jonathan Haidt: The moral roots of liberals and conservatives, 2008)
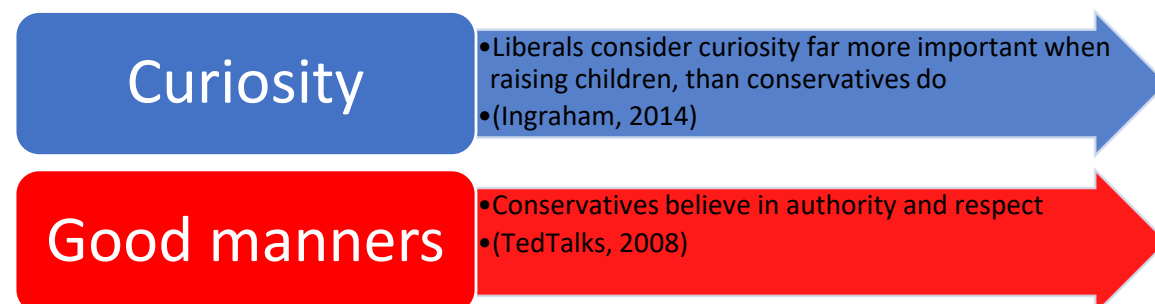
Curiosity	•Liberals consider curiosity far more important when raising children, than conservatives do •(Ingraham, 2014)
Good manners	•Conservatives believe in authority and respect •(TedTalks, 2008)

Question 8 – What do you think is more important for young people to have? (Jonathan Haidt: The moral roots of liberals and conservatives, 2008)

Respect for elders	•Conservatives value respect for tradition, history, and past generations •(TedTalks, 2008)
Respect for a different race/ethnicity	•Liberals embrace diversity •(TedTalks, 2008)
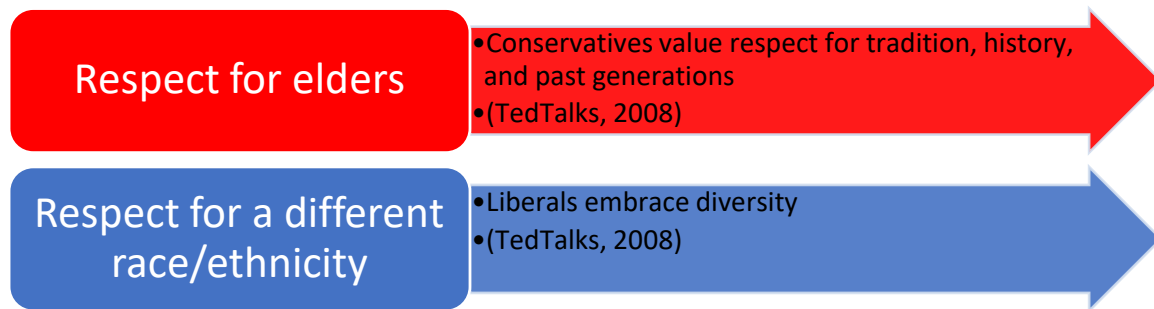
4.4.2. Level of Nationalism

The second dependent variable is the "Level of Nationalism". Nationalism represents the proud and affection that a person has about his country. This variable helps to understand the degree of importance of such national and traditional principles. Questions 8, 9, 16, and 22, will serve as the groundwork for this calculation.

Question 8 shows how a candidate should perceive its country's path. Respect for elders, shows a concern about the foundations of the country, which typically entails in older generations' values. Respect for different cultures, shows an ideology more oriented to an open and diverse society.

Question 9 reveals what the priority for voters is. Defending and preserving national values will come up conservative, while culture diversity appeals to a more liberal electorate.

Question 16 sets the line between national interests and global interests. The "Yes" answer portraits an electorate more affiliated with a candidate that stands up for the interests of his country. The "No" answer appeals to a more globalized and internationalist candidate.

Question 22 illustrates the level of degree to which people wish to see a candidate caring about the preservation of homemade products. By saying yes, voters are appealing to a more protectionist politician, while the "No" answer, on the other hand, is pushing a candidate towards open policies.

Question 8 – What do you think is more important for young people to have? (Jonathan Haidt: The moral roots of liberals and conservatives, 2008)

Respect for elders	•Conservatives value respect for tradition, history, and past generations •(TedTalks, 2008)
Respect for a different race/ethnicity	•Liberals embrace diversity •(TedTalks, 2008)
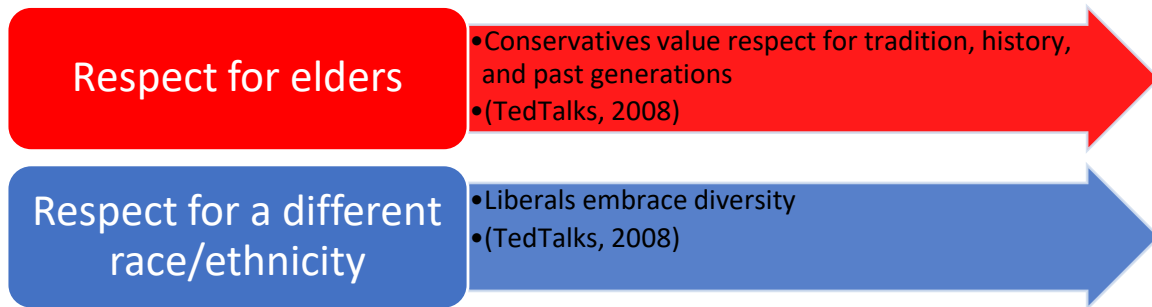
Question 9 – What do you treasure the most? (Jonathan Haidt: The moral roots of liberals and conservatives, 2008)

National culture, history and tradition	•Conservatives value respect for tradition, history, and national culture •(TedTalks, 2008)
Culture diversity	•Liberals embrace diversity •(TedTalks, 2008)

Question 16 – Do you think Portugal should put its national interests over European ones? (Bagehot, 2014) (Walk, 2016)

Yes	•Conservatives prioritize national interests over international affairs •(Bagehot, 2014)
No	•Contrarily to conservatives, liberals are more open to european integration •(Walk, 2016)

Question 22 – Do you think Government should prioritize "made in Portugal" products? (Bagehot, 2014) (Edsall, 2012)

Yes	•Conservatives prioritize national interests over international affairs •(Bagehot, 2014)
No	•Liberals are open-minded and tolerant to new things •(Edsall, 2012)
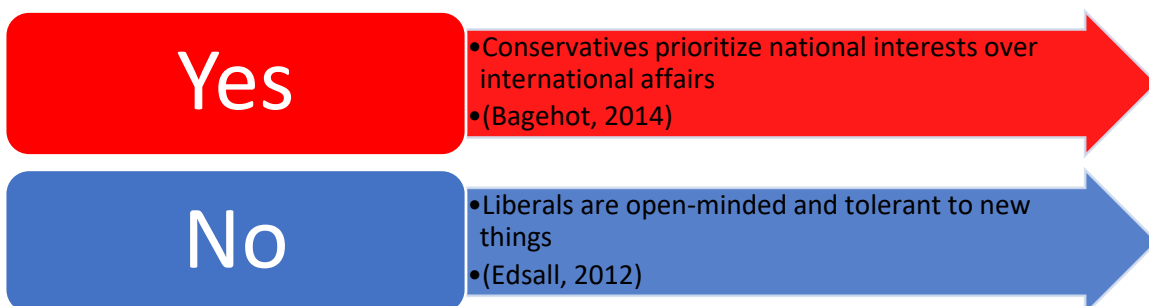
4.4.3. *Level of Euro-Skepticism*

The amount of Euro-Skepticism helps to understand how beneficial it might be for a politician to be critic of European policies. The questions accounted for this variable are number 10, 13, 15, 16 and 17.

Question 10 and Question 13 refer to one of the main principles of the European Union, the free movement of peoples. The answers in red indicate that voters want more control over their borders, meaning that they are not happy with the free movement of peoples. The answers in blue, on the other hand, show that people are happy with the fact that anyone can freely come to Portugal.

Question 15 reveals if people think the European Union is trustworthy. If people trust the EU, on writing their own laws, the answer will be "Yes". If the answer is negative, then the voter will have a more suspicious view of the European officials.

Question 16 sets the line between national interests and global interests. The "Yes" answer portraits an electorate more affiliated with a candidate that stands up for national affairs. The "No" answer appeals to a more globalized and internationalist candidate
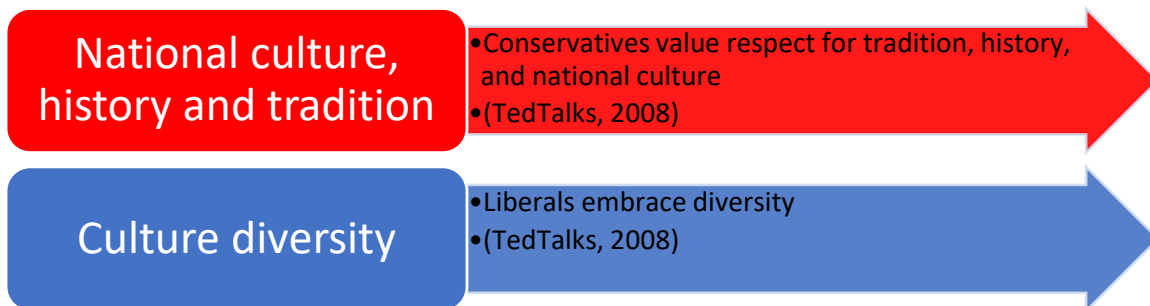
Question 17 asks for an overall perspective of the EU's performance. If people are satisfied with its performance, political actors will gain popularity points when supporting the EU publicly. On the other hand, if people show discontentment by it, candidates will become more popular when criticizing the EU.

Question 10 – What would you choose if you were given these 2 options? (Durden, 2016) (European Parliament, 2017)

Strict borders	•Euro-Skeptics want more border control •(Durden, 2016)
Open borders	•The EU is a strong supporter of open borders, as it can be seen in its free movement of peoples policy •(European Parliament, 2017)

Question 13 – What is more important for you? (Student News Daily, 2010)

Free movement of people	•Liberals are generally more sympathetic with free movement of peoples and open borders •(Student News Daily, 2010)
Immigration control	•Conservatives support firm immigration control policies •(Student News Daily, 2010)
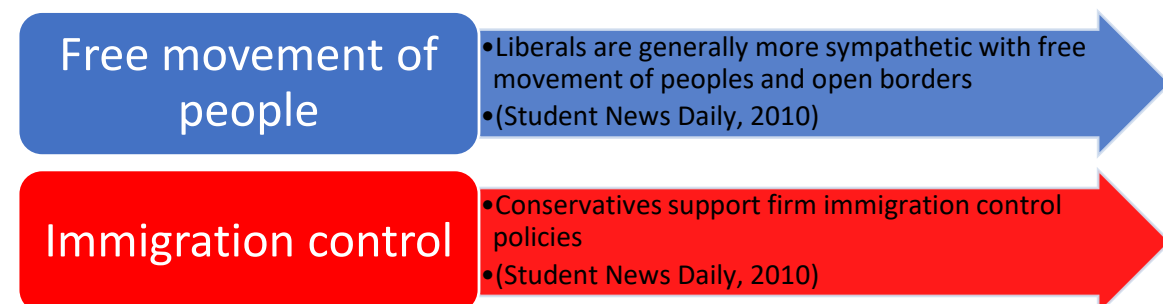
Question 15 – Do you trust the European Union to decide the legislation of your country? (The Economist, 2016)

Yes	• Pro-Europeans trust the Eu • (The Economist, 2016)
No	• Euro-Skeptics do not trust the EU • (The Economist, 2016)

Question 16 – Do you think Portugal should put its national interests over European ones? (Pazzanese, 2017) (European Comission, 2017)

Yes	•Euro-skeptics put the interests of the people who live in their country, first •(Pazzanese, 2017)
No	•Pro-Europeans celebrate diversity and international integration •(European Comission, 2017)

Question 17 – Are you happy with the European Union's performance?

Yes	• The better the performance of the EU, the more engaged a person will be with it
No	• The less happier a person is with the EU, the more euro-skeptic will be
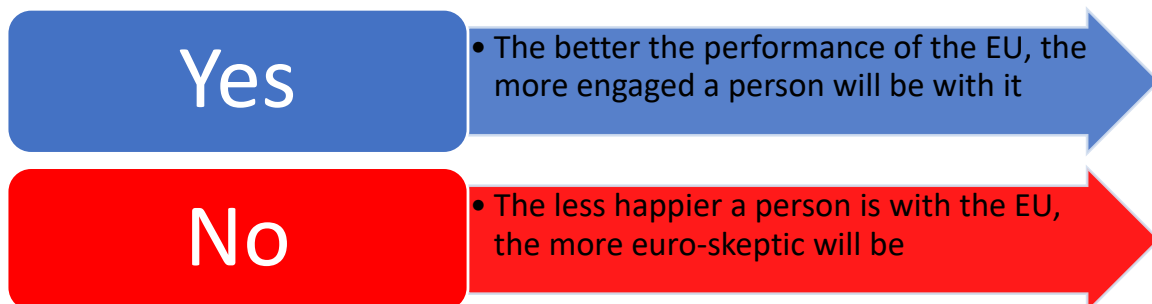
4.4.4. Level of Protectionism

Protectionist policies are meant to protect a country's economy from international threats. People who feel betrayed or scared by the effects of globalism, tend to think that a country should put the interest of its own people first. Questions 14, 19, 20 and 22, will help calculate the level of Protectionism held by Portuguese voters.

Question 14 approaches the issue of whether Portugal should protect its national employers over foreign labor. Policies that seek to shield Portuguese jobs are more likely to earn the support from voters who answered "Yes".

Question 18 and Question 20 ask people if they are supportive of an open and free market worldwide, and therefore, free of Government interference. The argument where politicians stand is on whether or not a market can be self-sustainable. Most people may not have an actual opinion on this, but the answer they give, is able to show to which side a voter leans the most.

Question 22 illustrates the level of degree to which people wish to see a candidate caring about protecting homemade products. By saying yes, voters are appealing to a more protectionist politician, while the "No" answer, on the other hand, is pushing a candidate towards open policies.

Question 14 – Should Government protect Portuguese jobs first? (Investopedia, 2017)

Yes	•Proteccionists favour national jobs preservance •(Investopedia, 2017)
No	•Proteccionists favour national jobs preservance •(Investopedia, 2017)

Question 18 – Do you support the free market? (Consider it to be a market where everyone can compete without restrictions) (Conservative vs Liberal views)

Yes	•Conservatives are typically supporters of the free market •(Conservative vs Liberal views)
No	•Liberals are keener on Government intervention that can regulate the market •(Conservative vs Liberal views)

Question 20 – Choose the best option for you: (Conservative vs Liberal views)

A Government should intervene in a competitive market on behalf of its economy	•Liberals are keener on Government intervention that can regulate the market •(Conservative vs Liberal views)
A Government should let a competitive market run by itself	•Conservatives are typically supporters of the free market •(Conservative vs Liberal views)
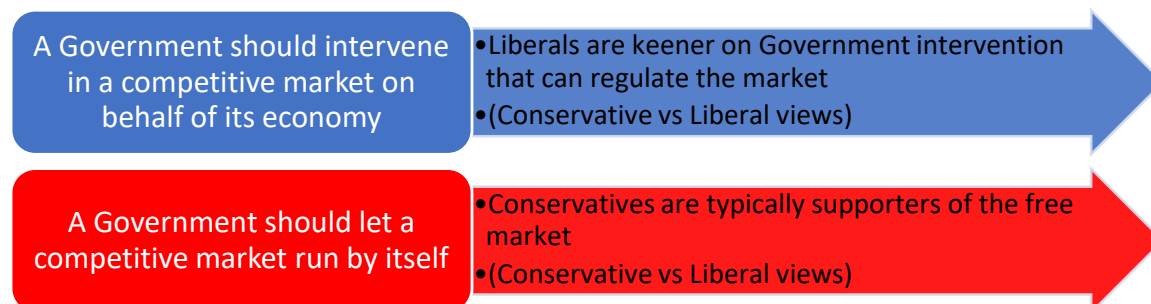
Question 22 – Do you think the Government should prioritize "made in Portugal" products? (Investopedia, 2017) (Edsall, 2012)
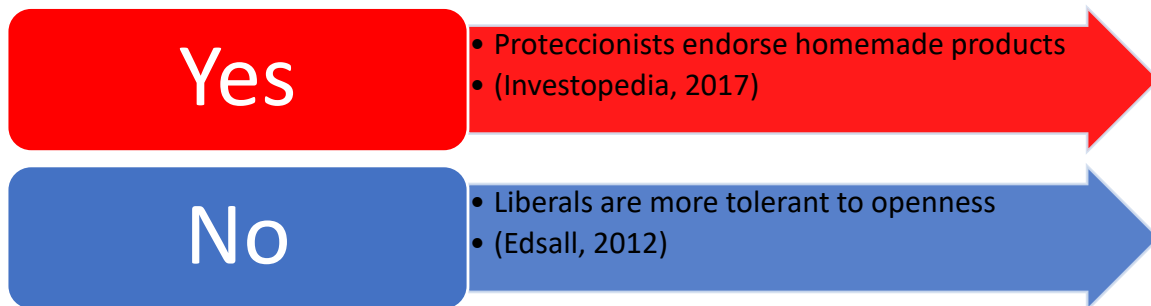
4.4.5. *Level of Islamophobia*

Islamophobia is an irrational fear of Islam. The current level of Islamophobia and Islam critics are at its highest point in America, since 9/11, according to a research conducted by the FBI (Table 3). Giving this fact, there's a chance that Portugal may witness a growth of anti-Islam behaviors. Conservative answers represent skepticism towards Islam.

Question 11 inquires people to reflect on the effects of multiculturalism. People who find multiculturalism dangerous, are highlighting concerns about different cultures integrating in their society, and therefore, demonstrating a rational or irrational fear about Islam.

Question 12 asks people how they feel towards Muslims. Although a Middle Eastern family doesn't necessarily mean they're Muslim, a "No" answer will reflect an unconscious stereotype towards the Muslim community.

Question 11 – Do you think multiculturalism can be dangerous? (Jonathan Haidt: The moral roots of liberals and conservatives, 2008)
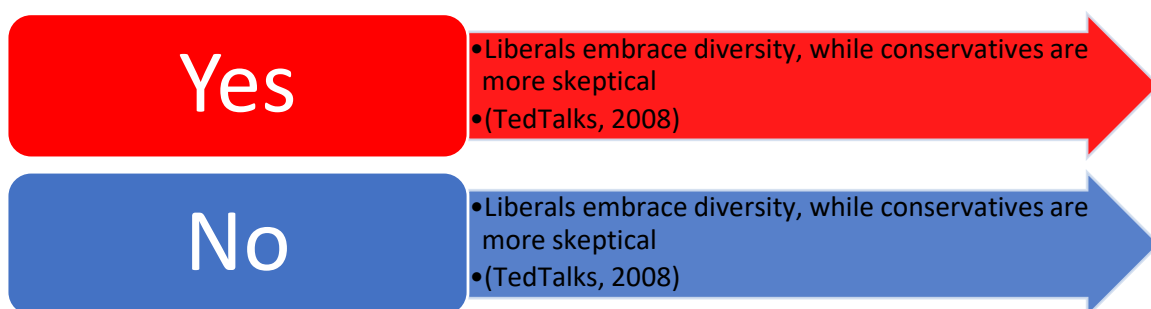
Question 12 – Would you feel comfortable if a family from the Middle East comes live next to you?

Yes	•The fear of Islamic terrorism increaes skepticism towards people from Islamic cultures/countries
No	•The fear of Islamic terrorism increaes skepticism towards people from Islamic cultures/countries

4.4.6. *Level of Immigration-Skepticism*

Immigration is turning to be key in debate across the US and most European countries. Typically, conservatives are big supporters of border control, while liberals, on the other hand, support a more open border policy.

Question 10 and Question 13 refer to one of the main principles of the European Union, the free movement of peoples. The answers in red indicate that voters want more control over their borders, meaning that they are not happy with the free movement of peoples. The answers in blue, on the other hand, show that people are happy with the fact that anyone can freely come to Portugal.
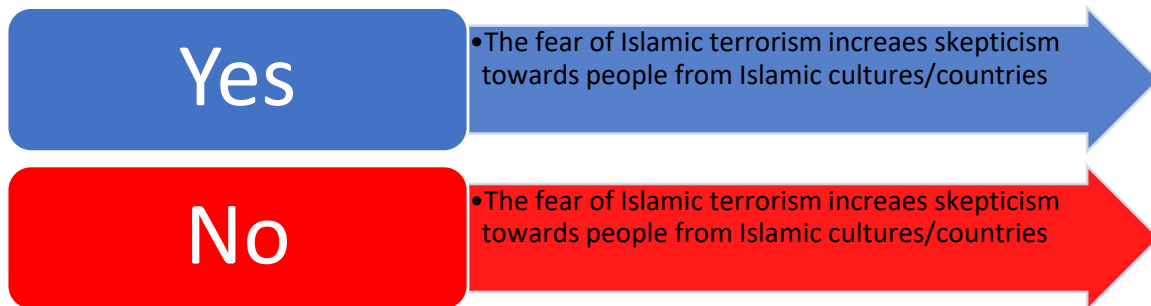
Question 11 inquires people to reflect on the effects of multiculturalism. People who find multiculturalism dangerous, are highlighting concerns about different cultures integrating in their society, and therefore, demonstrating a rational or irrational fear about people from different countries.

Question 10 – What would you choose if you were given these 2 options? (Student News Daily, 2010)

Strict borders	•Conservatives support firm immigration control policies •(Student News Daily, 2010)
Open borders	•Liberals are generally more sympathetic with free movement of peoples and open borders •(Student News Daily, 2010)

Question 11 – Do you think multiculturalism can be dangerous? (Jonathan Haidt: The moral roots of liberals and conservatives, 2008)

Yes	•Liberals embrace diversity, while conservatives are more skeptical •(TedTalks, 2008)
No	•Liberals embrace diversity, while conservatives are more skeptical •(TedTalks, 2008)

Question 13 – What is more important for you? (Student News Daily, 2010)
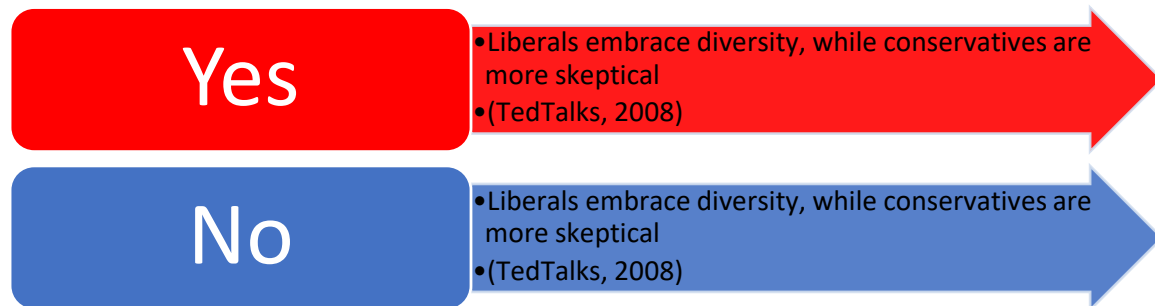
Free movement of people	•Liberals are generally more sympathetic with free movement of peoples and open borders •(Student News Daily, 2010)
Immigration control	•Conservatives support firm immigration control policies •(Student News Daily, 2010)

4.4.7. Views on economic policies

The economic strategy that each political candidate seeks to implement, plays a big role in voter's decision making. Liberals tend to affiliate with a candidate that defends a more equal redistribution of wealth, which translates in to higher Government interference. Conservatives typically oppose this, and are also keener on a candidate who is sympathetic with the private sector.

Question 18 and Question 20 ask people if they are supportive of an open and free market worldwide, and therefore, free of Government interference. The argument where politicians stand is on whether or not a market can be self-sustainable. Most people may not have an actual opinion on this, but the answer they give is able to show to which side a voter leans the most.

Question 19 checks what people think about regulation in business. High regulations usually portrait a voter with a more liberal profile. A conservative voter is typically against high regulation, as he, as a business owner, may see it as a barrier.

Question 21 asks voters how they see capitalism. Liberals aren't usually big supporters of it, as they think it might generate more inequality in society. Conservatives see it other way, as they tend to think capitalism boosts the economy and private businesses.

Question 18 – Do you support the free market? (Consider it to be a market where everyone can compete without restrictions) (Conservative vs Liberal views)

| Yes | •Conservatives are typically supporters of the free market
•(Conservative vs Liberal views) |
| No | •Liberals are keener on Government intervention that can regulate the market
•(Conservative vs Liberal views) |
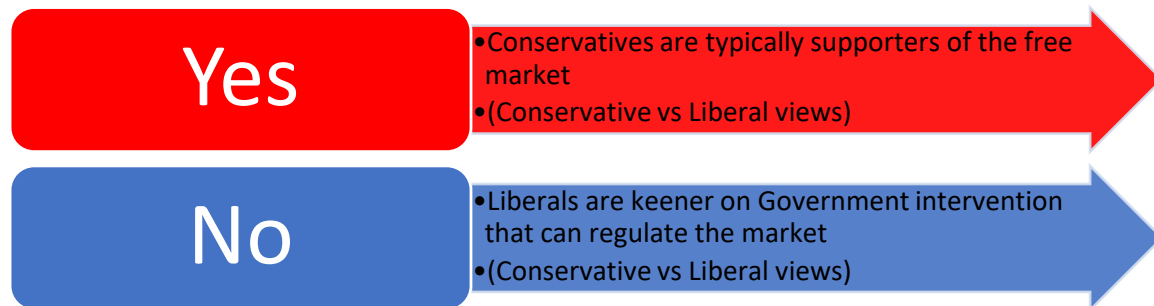
Question 19 – Regarding companies, do you think there should be: (Glen, 2017)

| High regulation | •As big supporters of Government intervention, liberals endorse higher regulation on business
•(Glen, 2017) |
| Some regulation | •Conservatives have the opposite view of liberals, seeing high regulation as a barrier to business development
•(Glen, 2017) |

Question 20 – Choose the best option for you: (Conservative vs Liberal views)

| A Government should intervene in a competitive market on behalf of its economy | •Liberals are keener on Government intervention that can regulate the market
•(Conservative vs Liberal views) |
| A Government should let a competitive market run by itself | •Conservatives are typically supporters of the free market
•(Conservative vs Liberal views) |
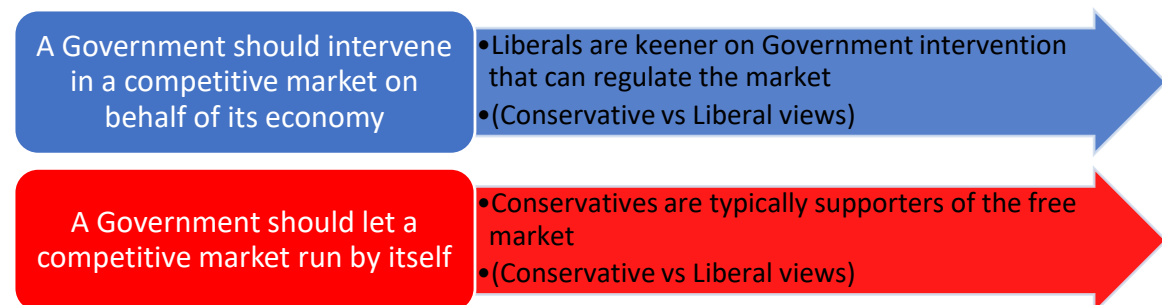
Question 21 – Do you think capitalism is? (Conservative vs Liberal views)

| Good | •Conservatives are big fans of the private sector
•(Conservative vs Liberal views) |
| Bad | •Liberals are not so keen on private business and would rather see Government allocating a more equal redistribution of wealth
•(Conservative vs Liberal views) |
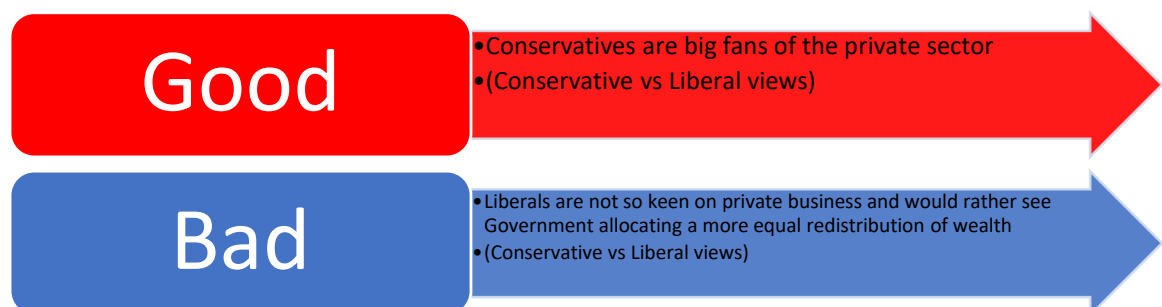
4.5 Population and Sampling

The survey collected 302 questionnaires answered from Portuguese voters, across different areas, genders and age groups.

Given that some of the groups didn't get enough respondents to offer a reliable analysis, some of them will be excluded from this study.

Nearly half of the respondents (44.70%) are young adults. Middle age people are the second largest group of this sample, with 29.47% of the answers given. The smallest groups of people are grown adults with 21.52%, and elders with only 4.3% of the results.

Gender is taken out fairly, with 40.73% of the respondents being women and 59.27% men. The survey collected 3 types of race, but since 93.4% are white, this will be the only race group up to analysis, as the other two race types didn't get enough answers.
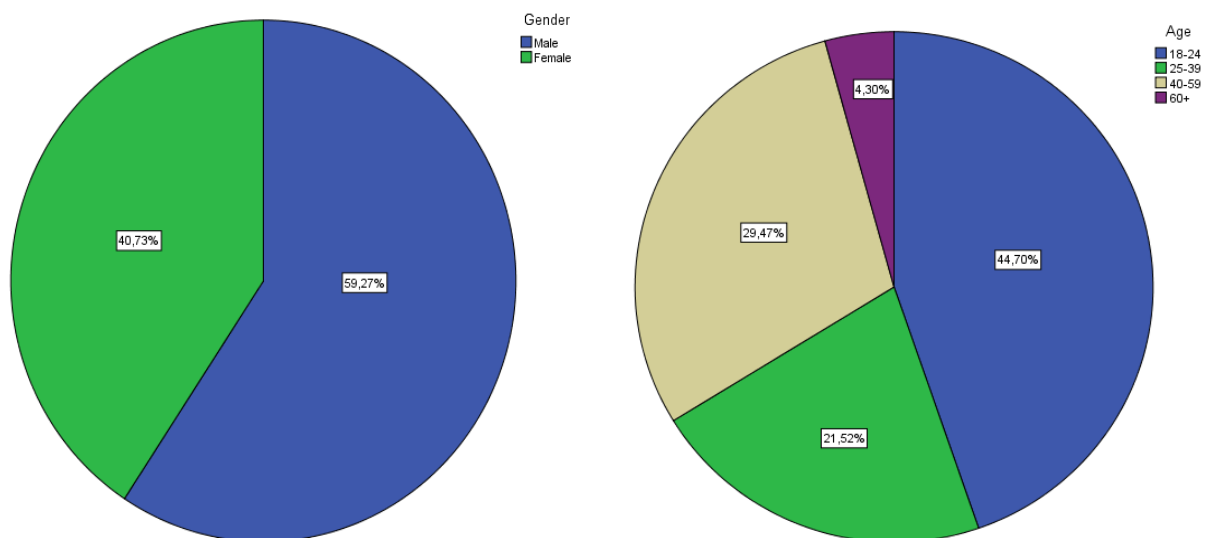
Race

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	White	282	93,4	93,4	93,4
	Black	3	1,0	1,0	94,4
	Brown	17	5,6	5,6	100,0
	Total	302	100,0	100,0	

Most of the respondents come from the north of the country (192), with Lisbon coming in 2nd, and the Center in 3rd. The other regions did not provided enough answers for analysis, and will not become part of this study.

Place of Residence

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	North	192	63,6	63,6	63,6
	Center	34	11,3	11,3	74,8
	Metropolitan area of Lisbon	71	23,5	23,5	98,3
	Alentejo	2	,7	,7	99,0
	Azores	3	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	302	100,0	100,0	

Lastly, on education, there are three groups of people that stand out: graduates (19.21%), bachelors (46.69%), and masters (30.13%), which will be brought up to analysis

Education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Middle School	3	1,0	1,0	1,0
	High School	58	19,2	19,5	20,5
	Bachelor's Degree	141	46,7	47,5	68,0
	Master's Degree	91	30,1	30,6	98,7
	PhD	4	1,3	1,3	100,0
	Total	297	98,3	100,0	
Missing	System	5	1,7		
Total		302	100,0		

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5.Data Findings

The following chapter analyzes the results retrieved from the survey.

The calculation of the dependent variables is based on a total score that each answer has imputed. All the answers in red account for 0 pts, and all the answers in blue account for 1 point.

For each total score obtained in a dependent variable, there will be a categorization of the voter.

The categories can be found right at the beginning of each dependent variable analysis.

In each analysis, there will be a frequency, descriptive, and a correlation study.

Frequencies show the amount of occurrences, or in this case, respondents, present in each category.

Descriptives offer the mean score of a group of people, which can help discover the rate or strength of a dependent variable.

And lastly, correlations focus on finding out, if there are other dependent variables or factors that have an impact, on the variable in analysis.

Laerd Statistics, defined correlation levels as the follow:

Strength of Association	Positive	Negative
Small	0.1 to 0.3	-0.1 to -0.3
Medium	0.3 to 0.5	-0.3 to -0.5
Large	0.5 to 1.0	-0.5 to -1.0

(Laerd Statistics, 2017)

These results will later help on the targeting of a fictional political party called "Partido Nacional Português" (PNP). This party is a nationalist, euro-skeptic, protectionist, anti-Islam, anti-Immigration and ultra-conservative party. For calculation purposes, the mean scores of PNP, will be considered to be all below or equal to 0.5 pts.

5.1 Profile of the candidate (Q6; Q7; Q8)

This variable is built upon 3 different questions, which combined together, account for 4 possible outcomes:

0 pts = Very Conservative

1 point = Conservative

2 pts = Liberal

3 pts = Very Liberal

Frequencies – Profile of the candidate

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Conservative	77	25,5	25,5	25,5
	Conservative	112	37,1	37,1	62,6
	Liberal	90	29,8	29,8	92,4
	Very Liberal	23	7,6	7,6	100,0
	Total	302	100,0	100,0	

The group with the most respondents is "Conservative" (37.1%), followed by "Liberal" and "Very Conservative" with 29.8% and 25.5% each. The cumulative percentage suggests that 62.6% of the population are oriented with conservative values.

The average score of all respondents is 1.2 pts, which is closer to the "Conservative" category.

Descriptive Statistics – Profile of the candidate

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Profile of the candidate	302	0	3	1,20
Valid N (listwise)	302			

Correlations – Profile of the candidate

		Profile of the candidate	Age	Education	Immigration-Skepticism	Euro-Skepticism	Level of Nationalism	Level of Islamophobia
Profile of the candidate	Pearson Correlation	1	-,223	,132	,199	,190	,544	,214
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000	,023	,001	,001	,000	,000
	N	302	302	297	302	302	302	302

The highest correlation is 0.544, a large level that indicates the more conservative a voter is, the more nationalist he will be.

Results also show 2 other small correlations of nearly 0.22, revealing that conservatives are slightly likeable to be older and Islamophobic.
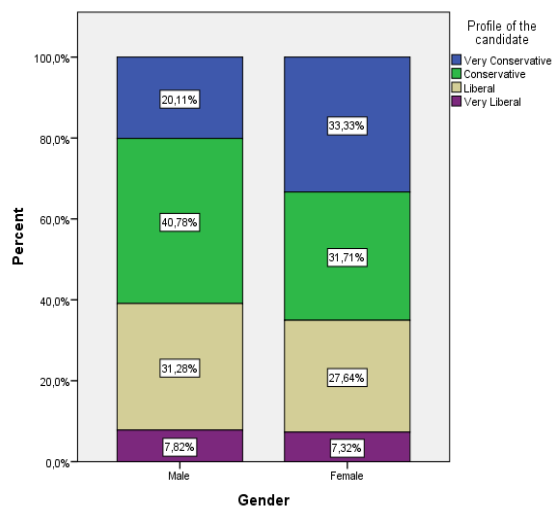
Profile of the candidate

Gender	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Male	1,27	179	,871
Female	1,09	123	,950
Total	1,20	302	,907

Conservative personalities seem to fit in both genders. The cumulative percentage of conservative traits accounts for 60.89% for men, and 65.04% for women. Men seem are keener on a more conservative-moderate candidate, whereas 33.33% of women reveal a preference for strong conservative characters.

The gender with the lowest average score is female with 1.09 pts, while male got 1.28 pts.
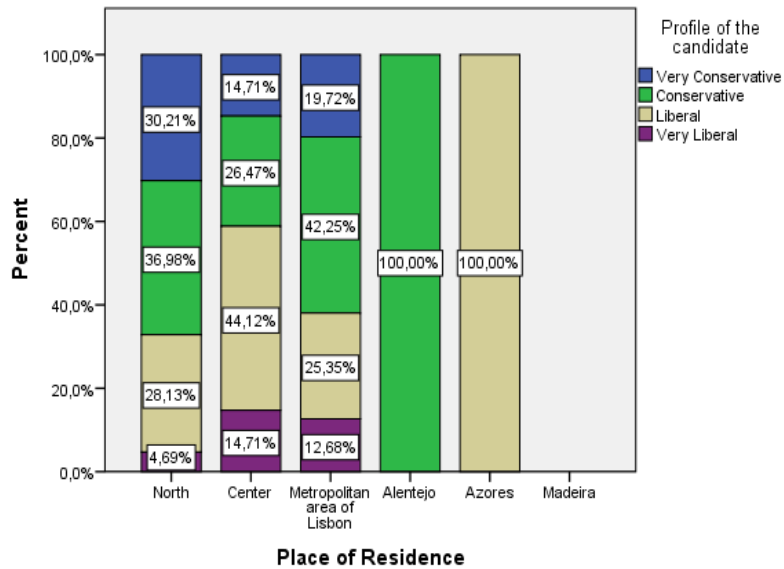
The two largest areas in the country display similar results. The "North" has 5.22% more conservatives than Lisbon, which has a total cumulative percentage of 67.19% of conservative and very conservative people. The Center has less conservatives, representing 41.18% of its population.

The North has the highest rate of conservatism, with a mean of just 1.07 pts, while the Center has the smallest (1.59 pts).

Profile of the candidate

Place of Residence	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
North	1,07	192	,877
Center	1,59	34	,925
Metropolitan area of Lisbon	1,31	71	,935
Alentejo	1,00	2	,000
Azores	2,00	3	,000
Total	1,20	302	,907

5.2   Level of Nationalism (Q8; Q9; Q16; Q22)

The 4 questions used in this variable account for 5 possible outcomes:

0 pts = Very High

1 point = High

2 pts = Moderate

3 pts = Low

4 pts = Very Low

Frequencies - Level of Nationalism

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very High	50	16,6	16,6	16,6
	HIgh	87	28,8	28,8	45,4
	Moderate	98	32,5	32,5	77,8
	Low	60	19,9	19,9	97,7
	Very Low	7	2,3	2,3	100,0
	Total	302	100,0	100,0	

Most of the respondents reveal to be moderate nationalists, although they only account to roughly a third of the population (32.5%). 45.4% have national values, leaving nearly 22.2% with low scores of nationalism.

Descriptive Statistics - Level of Nationalism

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Level of Nationalism	302	0	4	1,63
Valid N (listwise)	302			

The average score is of 1.63pts, a value between high and moderate nationalism.

Correlations - Level of Nationalism

		Level of Nationalism	Profile of the candidate	Euro-Skepticism	Level of Protectionism	Level of Islamophobia	Immigration-Skepticism	Age	Education
Level of Nationalism	Pearson Correlation	1	,544	,570	,287	,237	,359	-,299	,123
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,034
	N	302	302	302	302	302	302	302	297

The two highest correlations are with the profile of the candidates and Euro-skepticism. Results indicate a 50% chance of a person being conservative or euro-skeptic as his level of nationalism grows.

Immigration-skepticism has a correlation of 35.9% with nationalism, revealing a medium positive relationship between them.

Other small correlations suggest nationalists are more likely to be old, protectionists and skeptics of Islam.
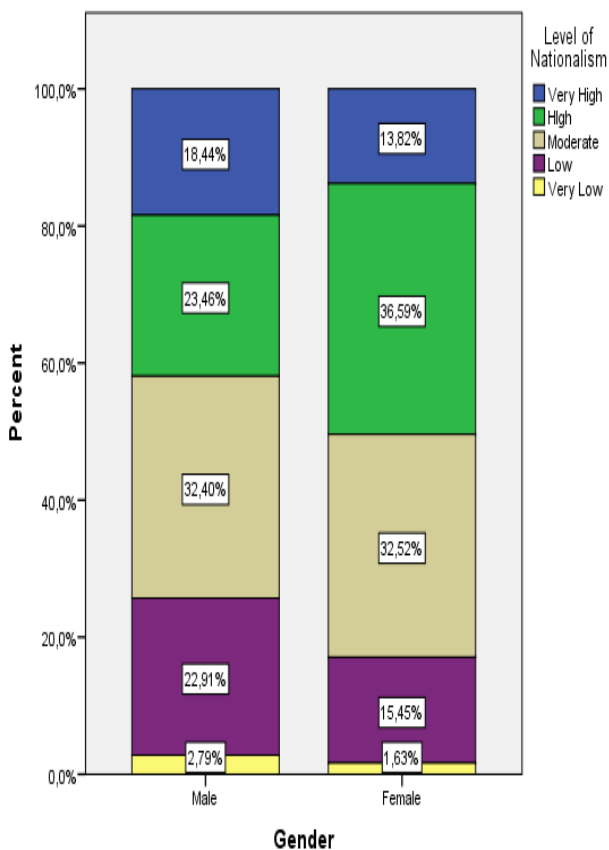
Women seem to be more nationalist than men. The total amount of nationalist and very nationalist women accounts for 50.41%, whereas men only reach 41.9%. The largest sub-group in women is "High" (36.59%), while men appear to be more moderate (32.4%).

The level with fewer people in both genders is "Very Low". The female mean is 0.14 pts lower than men, which accounts for 1.68pts.

Level of Nationalism

Gender	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Male	1,68	179	1,104
Female	1,54	123	,969
Total	1,63	302	1,051

Most people in the north of the country display high and very high levels of nationalism (51.14%), which comparing to the 17.19% of people with low and very low levels, is almost three times bigger. The two biggest sub-groups are "High" and "Moderate", both with 31.77%.
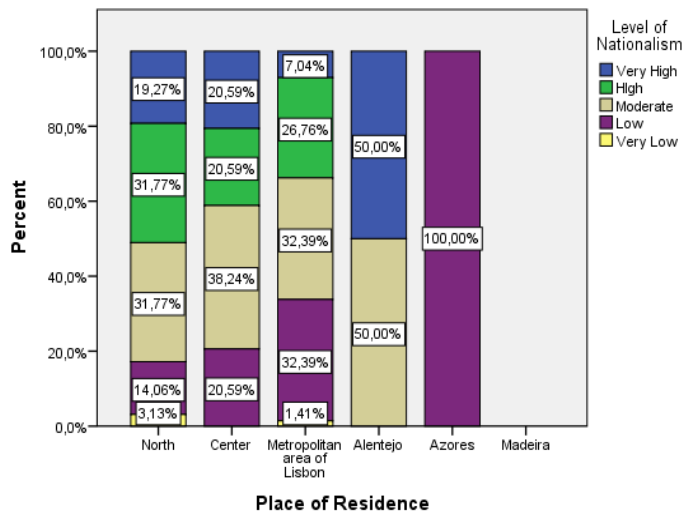
The Center has fewer nationalists, displaying an equal representation of 20.59% among the highest levels of nationalism, which combined together account for 41.18% of the respondents.

In Lisbon, the two largest sub-groups, ("Low" and "Moderate"), also have the same percentage (32.39%). Results are very balanced, as the cumulative percentage of the higher and lower levels of nationalism, account for 33.8%.

The region with the lowest average score is the North with 1.5 pts, while Lisbon puts itself in the "Moderate" category with a mean of 1.94 pts.

Level of Nationalism

Place of Residence	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
North	1,50	192	1,054
Center	1,59	34	1,048
Metropolitan area of Lisbon	1,94	71	,969
Alentejo	1,00	2	1,414
Azores	3,00	3	,000
Total	1,63	302	1,051

5.3 Level of Euro-Skepticism (Q10; Q13; Q15; Q16, Q17)

The number of questions needed to enquire the level of euro-skepticism created 6 categories:

0 pts = Very High

1 point = High

2 pts = Moderate High

3 pts = Moderate Low

4 pts = Low

5 pts = Very Low

Frequencies - Euro-Skepticism

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very High	40	13,2	13,2	13,2
	High	29	9,6	9,6	22,8
	Moderate High	62	20,5	20,5	43,4
	Moderate Low	72	23,8	23,8	67,2
	Low	66	21,9	21,9	89,1
	Very Low	33	10,9	10,9	100,0
	Total	302	100,0	100,0	

The cumulative percentage of people with high levels of euro-skepticism is 43.4%, leaving a small majority low on euro-skepticism. The group with the most people is "Moderate Low", representing 23.8% of the population.

The mean score is 2.64 pts, right in the middle of the moderate crowds

Descriptive Statistics - Euro-Skepticism

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Euro-Skepticism	302	0	5	2,64
Valid N (listwise)	302			

Correlations - Euro-Skepticism

		Euro-Skepticism	Level of Nationalism	Profile of the candidate	Level of Protectionism	Level of Islamophobia	Immigration-Skepticism	Age	Education
Euro-Skepticism	Pearson Correlation	1	,570	,190	,197	,363	,680	-,215	,132
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000	,001	,001	,000	,000	,000	,023
	N	302	302	302	302	302	302	302	297

The most correlated variable is immigration-skepticism with a large positive level of 0.68. The other high correlation suggests that nationalism has a 0.57 positive relationship with euro-skepticism.

There is also one more positive correlation, this time with a level of 0.363, suggesting that Islamophobia has a medium impact on euro-skeptics.

The last considerable correlation is "Age", which has a small negative relationship of -0,215 with euro-skepticism.

The largest sub-groups in both genders stand right in the middle, with cumulative moderate levels of 38.55% for men, and 52.85% for women.

Men aren't very euro-skeptic. The whole amount of low levels of euro-skepticism is 59.78%. The biggest male sub-group, is "Low", with 26.26%.

Women are more skeptic than men, with nearly half of them (47.97%) displaying high levels of euro-skepticism.
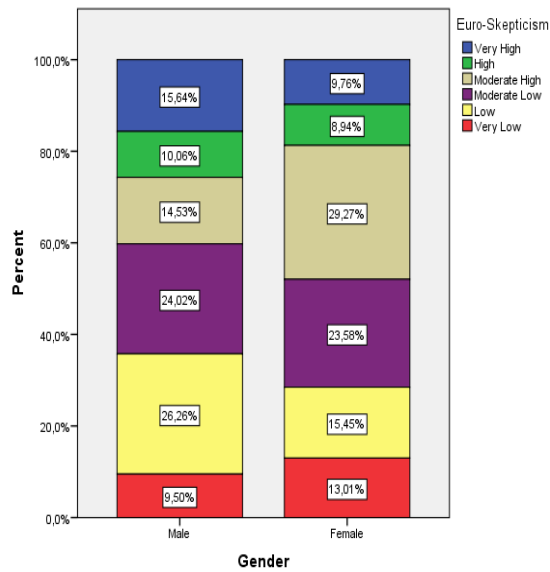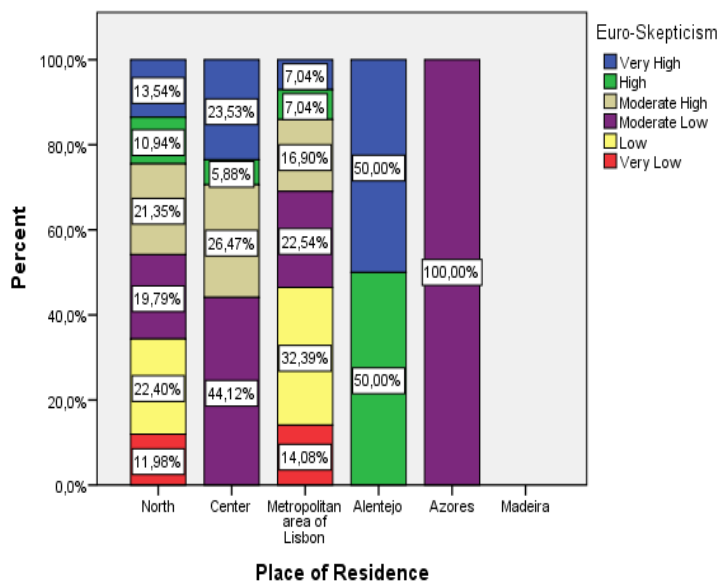
There is no significant difference between the means of both genders (2.64 pts & 2.65 pts), as they are both moderate.

Euro-Skepticism

Gender	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Male	2,64	179	1,575
Female	2,65	123	1,448
Total	2,64	302	1,522

Regarding location, people seem to be divided across all areas. 54.17% of people from the north show low levels of euro-skepticism, 44.12% of people from the Center are low moderates, and 53.52% express high levels in Lisbon.

The largest sub-group in most locations is "Low", with 22.4% in the North, and 32.39% in Lisbon, while the Center is overcrowded with low moderates.

The means of the three regions are very different. Lisbon is the least euro-skeptic, with 3.08 pts. The North comes in 2nd with the most temperate mean (2.62 pts). Finally, the Center crosses to the side of moderate-high skepticism, with an average score of 1.91 pts.

Euro-Skepticism

Place of Residence	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
North	2,62	192	1,564
Center	1,91	34	1,215
Metropolitan area of Lisbon	3,08	71	1,412
Alentejo	,50	2	,707
Azores	3,00	3	,000
Total	2,64	302	1,522

5.4 Level of Protectionism (Q14; Q18; Q20; Q22)

The 5 levels of Protectionism are listed as below:

0 pts = Very High

1 point = High

2 pts = Moderate

3 pts = Low

4 pts = Very Low

Frequencies - Level of Protectionism

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very High	113	37,4	37,4	37,4
	High	130	43,0	43,0	80,5
	Moderate	43	14,2	14,2	94,7
	Low	16	5,3	5,3	100,0
	Total	302	100,0	100,0	

There is a clear dominance of protectionist values, with an astonishing 80.5% of the population revealing high levels of protectionism. The largest group, with 43%, scored 1 point.

The "Low" level only had 5.3% of affluence.

Not a single respondent got a score of 4 pts.

Descriptive Statistics - Level of Protectionism

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Level of Protectionism	302	0	3	,87
Valid N (listwise)	302			

The mean value is of only 0.87 pts, a result between the two largest rates of protectionism.

Correlations - Level of Protectionism

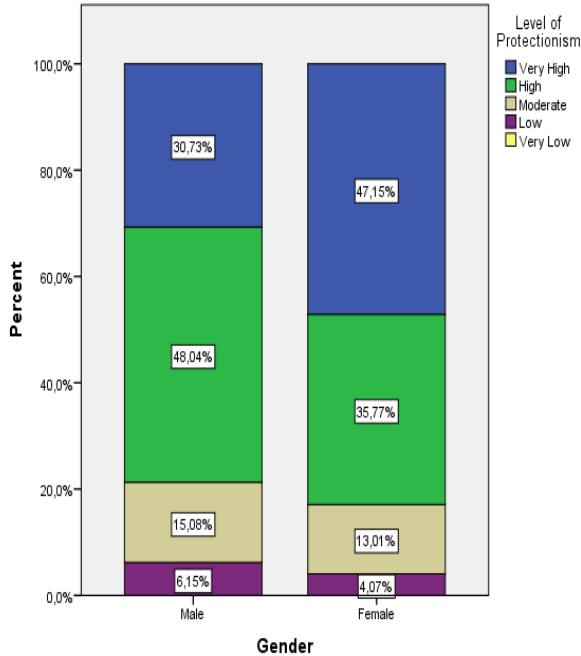|		Level of Protectionism	Euro-Skepticism	Level of Nationalism	Level of Islamophobia	Immigration-Skepticism	Education	Views on economic policies
Level of Protectionism	Pearson Correlation	1	,197	,287	,143	,243	,230	,377
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,001	,000	,013	,000	,000	,000
	N	302	302	302	302	302	297	302

There are no large correlations with protectionism. The strongest one, has a medium correlation size, and relates to people's views on economic issues. This correlation has a positive relationship.

There are other three small correlations, two positive and one negative. The positive correlations show that higher levels of nationalism and immigration-skepticism, increase the levels of protectionism.

The negative correlation indicates that people tend to become less protectionist, as they get more educated.

Both men and women have high levels of protectionism (78.77% and 88.92% respectively). Besides having a higher cumulative percentage, women also have 47.15% of its population with very high levels of protectionism, 16.42% more than men.

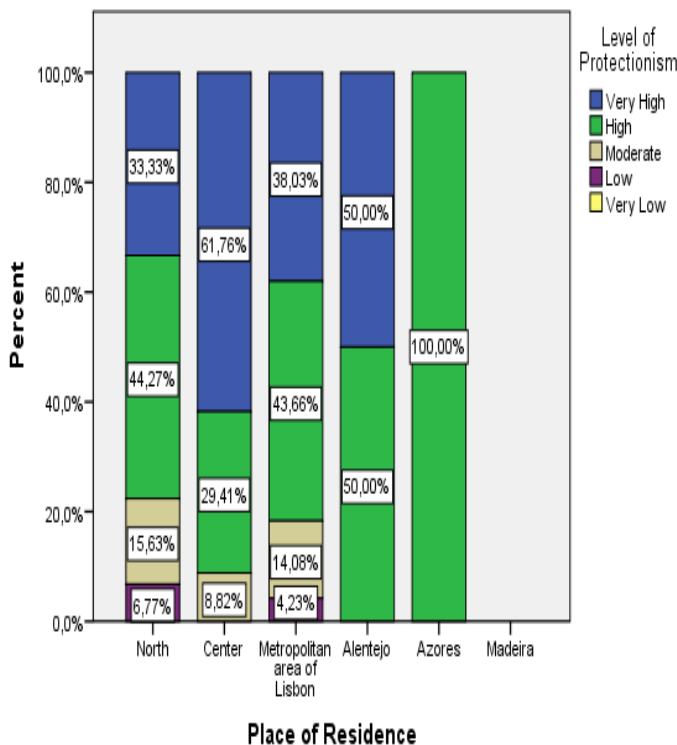The largest male sub-group corresponds to the high level of protectionism, which accounts for 48.04% of all men. Both genders scored very low means, with men reaching 0.97 pts and women 0.74 pts.

Level of Protectionism

Gender	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Male	,97	179	,841
Female	,74	123	,838
Total	,87	302	,846

Results found in the North are very similar to those in Lisbon. Nearly 80% of both regions reveal high and very high levels of protectionism. The amount of people with low rates didn't go beyond 7%, with Lisbon reaching a maximum of 4.23%.

The Center is even more protectionist, with no scores higher than 2 pts, and only 8.82% of moderates.

All means are lower than 1, but the Center reveals, by a considerable margin, the lowest one with only 0.47 pts.

Level of Protectionism

Place of Residence	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
North	,96	192	,873
Center	,47	34	,662
Metropolitan area of Lisbon	,85	71	,822
Alentejo	,50	2	,707
Azores	1,00	3	,000
Total	,87	302	,846

5.5   Level of Islamophobia (Q11; Q12)

Islamophobia is an irrational fear of Islam. Many people who are anti-Islam, may not be Islamophobic, and will not be included in this analysis. Based on the research conducted, the three defined levels of Islamophobia are:

0 pts = High

1 point = Moderate

2 pts = Low

Frequencies - Level of Islamophobia

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	High	39	12,9	12,9	12,9
	Moderate	89	29,5	29,5	42,4
	Low	174	57,6	57,6	100,0
	Total	302	100,0	100,0	

Over half of the population shows low levels of Islamophobia. Just 39 people showed clear signs of Islamophobic behaviors, and 89 of moderate perceptions.

Descriptive Statistics - Level of Islamophobia

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Level of Islamophobia	302	0	2	1,45
Valid N (listwise)	302			

The average score of 1.45 pts is proof of very low signs of Islamophobia.
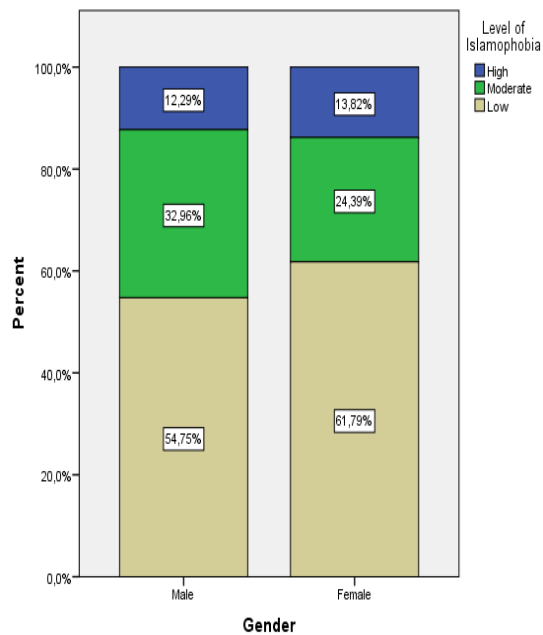
Correlations - Level of Islamophobia

		Level of Islamophobia	Education	Immigration-Skepticism	Level of Protectionism	Euro-Skepticism	Level of Nationalism	Profile of the candidate
Level of Islamophobia	Pearson Correlation	1	,133	,635	,143	,363	,237	,214
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,022	,000	,013	,000	,000	,000
	N	302	297	302	302	302	302	302

Immigration-Skepticism is the highest correlated variable, with a 63.5% positive relationship.

Euro-Skepticism reveals a medium positive correlation, while nationalism and the profile of the candidate, have small relationships.

Most people aren't skeptical of Islam, whether they're male or female. Women have 7.04% less Islamophobes than men, with a total amount of 61.79%. Men have the highest percentage of moderate people (32.86%).
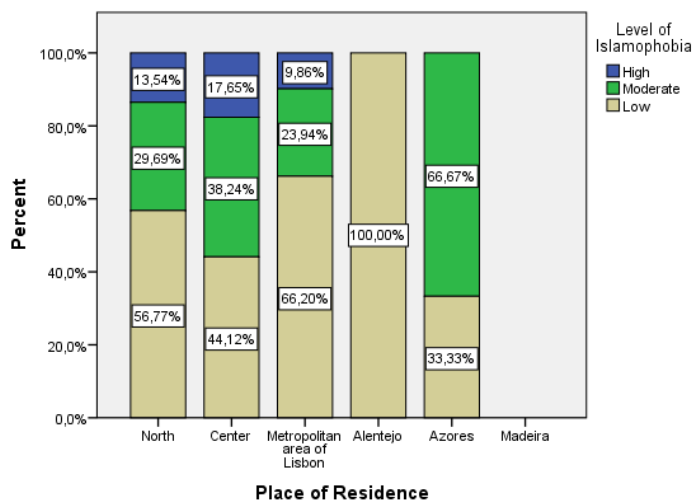
The means are very similar to each other, having men scored 1.42 pts, and women 1.45 pts.

Level of Islamophobia

Gender	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Male	1,42	179	,702
Female	1,48	123	,728
Total	1,45	302	,712

All regions share the same graphical looks.
Lisbon has the highest percentage (66.2%) and the highest mean (1.56 pts) of people with low levels of Islamophobia.
The Center is the most Islamophobic, with 17.65% of Islamophobes, though it still reveals a mean of 1.26 pts.

Level of Islamophobia

Place of Residence	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
North	1,43	192	,720
Center	1,26	34	,751
Metropolitan area of Lisbon	1,56	71	,670
Alentejo	2,00	2	,000
Azores	1,33	3	,577
Total	1,45	302	,712

5.6 Level of Immigration-Skepticism (Q10; Q11; Q13)

Immigration-skepticism is divided in 4 levels:

0 pts = Very High

1 point = High

2 pts = Low

3 pts = Very Low

Frequencies - Immigration-Skepticism

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very High	39	12,9	12,9	12,9
	High	55	18,2	18,2	31,1
	Low	68	22,5	22,5	53,6
	Very Low	140	46,4	46,4	100,0
	Total	302	100,0	100,0	

Right away it can be seen that the majority of people aren't skeptical of immigration. 68.9% reveal low signs of skepticism, and only 31.1% show any signs of concern.

Descriptive Statistics - Immigration-Skepticism

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Immigration-Skepticism	302	0	3	2,02
Valid N (listwise)	302			

The average level of Immigration-Skepticism is low, as the mean score is very close to 2 pts.

Correlations - Immigration-Skepticism

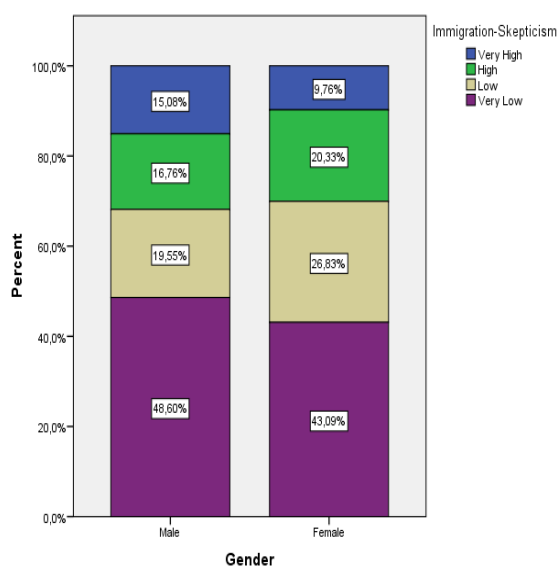|		Immigration-Skepticism	Level of Islamophobia	Education	Level of Protectionism	Euro-Skepticism	Level of Nationalism	Profile of the candidate
Immigration-Skepticism	Pearson Correlation	1	,635	,128	,243	,680	,359	,199
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000	,028	,000	,000	,000	,001
	N	302	302	297	302	302	302	302

The two most correlated variables are Islamophobia and Euro-Skepticism. These correlations of 0.635 and 0.68 indicate a high positive relationship with Immigration-Skepticism.

There is also a medium size correlation with Nationalism (0.359), suggesting that positive levels of nationalism can generate an average increase in immigration-skepticism.

Small correlations of 0.243 and 1.99, imply that conservatism and protectionism can help increase skepticism towards immigration.

The total amount of men and women with both high and very high levels of skepticism is 68.15% and 69.92% respectively. The lowest level of immigration-skepticism is the largest sub-group for both genders, with 48.6% for men and 43.09% for women.
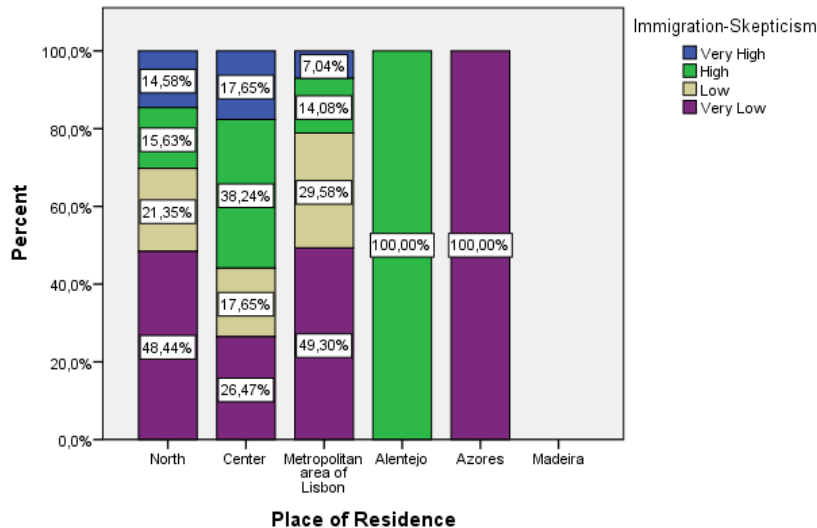
Both means are of 2 pts.

Immigration-Skepticism

Gender	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Male	2,02	179	1,124
Female	2,03	123	1,016
Total	2,02	302	1,080

Lisbon has a total of 78.88% of its people with low levels of immigration-skepticism. The smallest sub-group represents only 7.04%, which coupled with the 2nd smallest, reaches a total amount of only 21.12%.

The North has a very similar distribution to Lisbon, with almost two times the amount of people with 0 pts. Nearly 49% of both regions display very low levels of immigration-skepticism.

The Center is far more skeptical. 55.89% of its people, have either high or very high levels of immigration-skepticism. The largest group of people, with 38.24% of the population, have high skepticism levels.

The Center also has the smallest mean, with a score of 1.53 pts. The North has an average score of 2.04 pts, and Lisbon 2.21 pts.

Immigration-Skepticism

Place of Residence	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
North	2,04	192	1,109
Center	1,53	34	1,080
Metropolitan area of Lisbon	2,21	71	,940
Alentejo	1,00	2	,000
Azores	3,00	3	,000
Total	2,02	302	1,080

5.7 Views on economic policies (Q18; Q19; Q20; Q21)

The views on economic policies are represented through 5 different scores:

0 pts = Very Conservative

1 point = Conservative

2 pts = Moderate

3 pts = Liberal

4 pts = Very Liberal

Frequencies - Views on economic policies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Conservative	54	17,9	17,9	17,9
	Conservative	124	41,1	41,1	58,9
	Moderate	98	32,5	32,5	91,4
	Liberal	26	8,6	8,6	100,0
	Total	302	100,0	100,0	

41.1% of the population have a conservative economic approach, which coupled with those with very conservative views, account for 58% of the population. There were no results for "Very Liberal" views.

Descriptive Statistics - Views on economic policies

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Views on economic policies	302	0	3	1,32
Valid N (listwise)	302			

The average score of 1.32 pts, reveals a considerable inclination towards conservative views.

Correlations - Views on economic policies

		Views on economic policies	Level of Protectionism
Views on economic policies	Pearson Correlation	1	,377
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000
	N	302	302
Level of Protectionism	Pearson Correlation	,377	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	
	N	302	302

The only significant correlation is the level of protectionism. A correlation of 0.377 indicates a medium positive relationship between protectionism and conservative economic views,
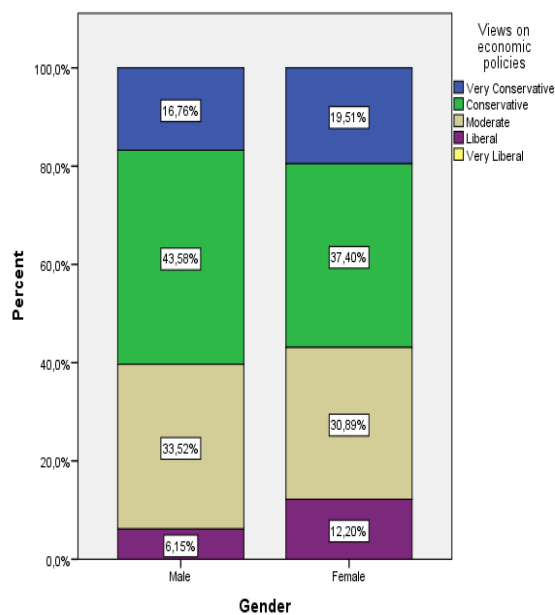
Views on economic policies

Gender	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Male	1,29	179	,817
Female	1,36	123	,933
Total	1,32	302	,866

The majority of males (43.58%) have a conservative economic mindset. This number can grow up to 60.34% when added to the people with very conservative views.

There are only 6.15% of men with a liberal economic ideology.

Women share similar results to men. The amount of women with liberal economic views is almost double of men, but it still only accounts for a small 12.2% of the population. There are also around 3% more women with very conservative ideologies, and a total amount of 56.91% with conservative and very conservative views.

The average mean is around 1.32 pts, with no significant differences between the two genders.

No results were found for very liberal economic views.
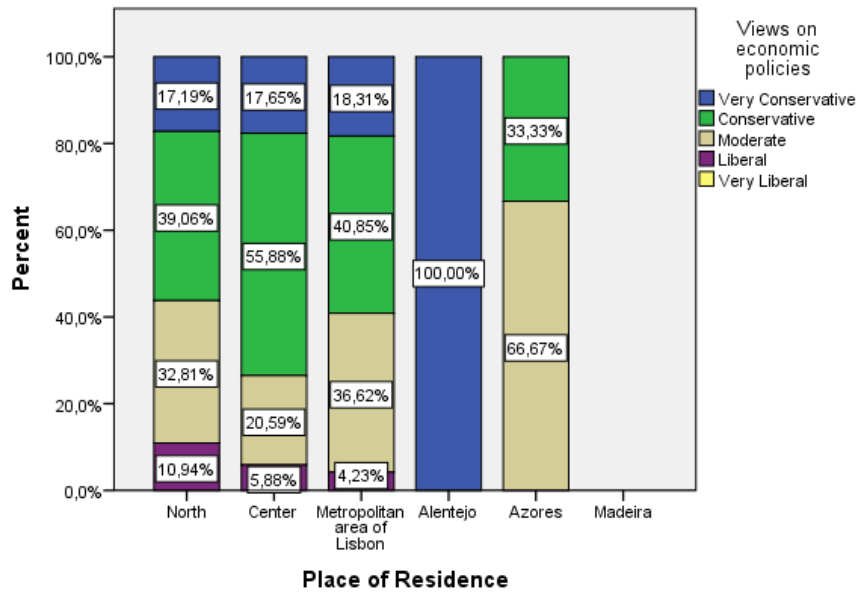
There are no significant differences between the North and Lisbon. Both regions share a common majority of 57% of people with conservative economic views.

Lisbon has 3.81% more moderate people than the North, and 6.71% less liberals.

The Center is the most conservative (55.88%) and very conservative (17.65%). Only 5.88% of its people, scored more than 2 pts.

The Center has the lowest mean with 1.15 pts, followed by Lisbon with 1.27 pts, and the North with 1.38 pts.

Views on economic policies

Place of Residence	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
North	1,38	192	,895
Center	1,15	34	,784
Metropolitan area of Lisbon	1,27	71	,810
Alentejo	,00	2	,000
Azores	1,67	3	,577
Total	1,32	302	,866

5.8 Gender

With the positions of PNP bared in mind, the framer has considered the level of popularity of each dependent variable as the follow:

Popularity	Mean
Popular	[0 ; 1,5[*1The mean for Islamophobia is [0 ; 1[
Moderate	[1,5 ; 2[*2 The mean for Islamophobia is [1 ; 1,5]
Unpopular	[2 ; +00] *3 The mean for Islamophobia is [1,5 ; +00]

Gender		N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Male	Profile of the candidate	179	0	3	1,27	,871
	Level of Nationalism	179	0	4	1,68	1,104
	Euro-Skepticism	179	0	5	2,64	1,575
	Level of Protectionism	179	0	3	,97	,841
	Level of Islamophobia	179	0	2	1,42	,702
	Immigration-Skepticism	179	0	3	2,02	1,124
	Views on economic policies	179	0	3	1,29	,817
	Valid N (listwise)	179				
Female	Profile of the candidate	123	0	3	1,09	,950
	Level of Nationalism	123	0	4	1,54	,969
	Euro-Skepticism	123	0	5	2,65	1,448
	Level of Protectionism	123	0	3	,74	,838
	Level of Islamophobia	123	0	2	1,48	,728
	Immigration-Skepticism	123	0	3	2,03	1,016
	Views on economic policies	123	0	3	1,36	,933
	Valid N (listwise)	123				

5.9   Age Group

With the positions of PNP bared in mind, the framer has considered the level of popularity of each dependent variable as the follow:

Popularity	Mean
Popular	[0 ; 1,5[*1The mean for Islamophobia is [0 ; 1[
Moderate	[1,5 ; 2[*2 The mean for Islamophobia is [1 ; 1,5]
Unpopular	[2 ; +00] *3 The mean for Islamophobia is [1,5 ; +00]

Age		N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
18-24	Profile of the candidate	135	0	3	1,35	,849
	Level of Nationalism	135	0	4	1,91	1,096
	Euro-Skepticism	135	0	5	2,91	1,473
	Level of Protectionism	135	0	3	,89	,870
	Level of Islamophobia	135	0	2	1,48	,700
	Immigration-Skepticism	135	0	3	2,03	1,065
	Views on economic policies	135	0	3	1,24	,824
	Valid N (listwise)	135				
25-39	Profile of the candidate	65	0	3	1,35	,943
	Level of Nationalism	65	0	4	1,68	,903
	Euro-Skepticism	65	0	5	2,78	1,452
	Level of Protectionism	65	0	3	1,02	,875
	Level of Islamophobia	65	0	2	1,48	,709
	Immigration-Skepticism	65	0	3	2,11	1,062
	Views on economic policies	65	0	3	1,38	,947
	Valid N (listwise)	65				
40-59	Profile of the candidate	89	0	3	,92	,895
	Level of Nationalism	89	0	4	1,27	,974
	Euro-Skepticism	89	0	5	2,27	1,601
	Level of Protectionism	89	0	3	,79	,818
	Level of Islamophobia	89	0	2	1,42	,736
	Immigration-Skepticism	89	0	3	2,02	1,118
	Views on economic policies	89	0	3	1,39	,874
	Valid N (listwise)	89				
60+	Profile of the candidate	13	0	2	,69	,855
	Level of Nationalism	13	0	2	,85	,689
	Euro-Skepticism	13	0	3	1,69	,947
	Level of Protectionism	13	0	1	,62	,506
	Level of Islamophobia	13	0	2	1,15	,689
	Immigration-Skepticism	13	0	3	1,54	1,050
	Views on economic policies	13	0	3	1,23	,832
	Valid N (listwise)	13				

5.10   Region

With the positions of PNP bared in mind, the framer has considered the level of popularity of each dependent variable as the follow:

Popularity	Mean
Popular	[0 ; 1,5[*1The mean for Islamophobia is [0 ; 1[
Moderate	[1,5 ; 2[*2 The mean for Islamophobia is [1 ; 1,5]
Unpopular	[2 ; +00] *3 The mean for Islamophobia is [1,5 ; +00]

Place of Residence		N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
North	Profile of the candidate	192	0	3	1,07	,877
	Level of Nationalism	192	0	4	1,50	1,054
	Euro-Skepticism	192	0	5	2,63	1,564
	Level of Protectionism	192	0	3	,96	,873
	Level of Islamophobia	192	0	2	1,43	,720
	Immigration-Skepticism	192	0	3	2,04	1,109
	Views on economic policies	192	0	3	1,38	,895
Center	Profile of the candidate	34	0	3	1,59	,925
	Level of Nationalism	34	0	3	1,59	1,048
	Euro-Skepticism	34	0	3	1,91	1,215
	Level of Protectionism	34	0	2	,47	,662
	Level of Islamophobia	34	0	2	1,26	,751
	Immigration-Skepticism	34	0	3	1,53	1,080
	Views on economic policies	34	0	3	1,15	,784
Metropolitan area of Lisbon	Profile of the candidate	71	0	3	1,31	,935
	Level of Nationalism	71	0	4	1,94	,969
	Euro-Skepticism	71	0	5	3,08	1,412
	Level of Protectionism	71	0	3	,85	,822
	Level of Islamophobia	71	0	2	1,56	,670
	Immigration-Skepticism	71	0	3	2,21	,940
	Views on economic policies	71	0	3	1,27	,810

6. Conclusions

Conclusions will be held from the perspective of a fictional ultra-conservative party called "Partido Nacional Português" (PNP).

An overall view of each dependent variable, demographic data, and the main target of the party will be presented.

6.1   Profile of the candidate

- The majority of people are conservative

- The national profile level is conservative

- Women are more attracted to strong conservative characters, while men are more engaged with moderate-conservative leaders

- There is a strong correlation between conservative characters and nationalism

- Conservatism tends to slightly increase as a person gets older

- Islamophobia has a small positive relationship with conservatism

- Around 2/3rds of both men and women have conservative mindsets, but women are more conservative

- Most conservatives come from the two biggest areas of the country, Lisbon and the North, being the latter the most conservative by a small margin.

- The Center has more liberals than conservatives

6.2   Level of Nationalism

- Most respondents display moderate and high levels of nationalism

- The average nationalist level of the entire population is moderate-high

- Personal profile and Euro-skepticism have strong positive impacts on nationalism

- As Immigration-skepticism grows, nationalism tends to endure

- Nationalism has a small positive relationship with protectionism and Islamophobia

- Age increases nationalism

- There are few men and women with low levels of nationalism

- Women have a higher percentage of nationalists than men, but men have stronger feelings towards traditional and national values

- The highest number of nationalists and level of nationalism can be found in the North

- Lisbon is the only region with moderate nationalist rates

6.3 Level of Euro-Skepticism

- People are generally divided regarding the EU

- The level of euro-skepticism is very moderate

- Nationalism and immigration-skepticism have a big positive impact on Euro-skepticism

- Islamophobia increases Euro-skepticism on a moderate rate

- Older people are slightly likable to adopt euro-skeptic mindsets

- The majority of men and women aren't euro-skeptic

- Women are more skeptic than men

- The level of euro-skepticism is moderate for both genders

- Lisbon has a considerable minority of Euro-skeptics

- All regions have moderate levels of skepticism

- The most Euro-skeptic region is the Center, and the least is Lisbon

6.4 Level of Protectionism

- The vast majority of people are protectionist

- The national level of protectionism is high

- Conservative economic views can increase, on a medium scale, the levels of protectionism

- Nationalism and Islamophobia, have a small positive impact on protectionism

- The better educated a person is, the bigger are the chances of decreasing protectionism

- Most men and women are protectionist

- Women have higher numbers of protectionists and protectionist levels than men

- All regions have considerable protectionist majorities

- The Center has the highest percentage of protectionists

- Both Lisbon and the North display high levels of protectionism, whereas the Center has very high levels.

6.5   Level of Islamophobia

- Islamophobes are a significant minority in the country

- Most people display low levels of Islamophobia

- The national level of Islamophobia is moderate-low

- Immigration-skepticism has a large positive impact in Islamophobia

- Euro-skepticism provokes a medium increase in Islamophobia

- Conservative and nationalist profiles, are more likely to increase fear from Islam

- Although both share low levels of Islamophobia, men are more fearful of Islam than women

- All regions have a majority of people with low levels of Islamophobia

- Lisbon is the region with the least Islamophobes

- The Center has the highest amount of moderates and Islamophobes

- Lisbon has a small level of Islamophobia, whereas the Center a moderate one

6.6   Level of Immigration-Skepticism

- A third of the population is skeptical of immigration

- The national level of Immigration-Skepticism is low

- Islamophobia and Euro-skepticism have large positive relationships

- As nationalism grows, Immigration-skepticism grows moderately

- Conservatives and protectionists have a small positive effect on Immigration-skepticism

- Men and women have equal high levels of low Immigration-skepticism

- Most people from both genders have very low levels of skepticism

- The skepticism level for both genders is low

- Both Lisbon and the North, have vast majorities of non-skeptics

- Most people from the Center are skeptics

- The Center has a moderate level of skepticism

- The two biggest regions have low levels of Immigration-skepticism

6.7 Views on economic policies

- Most people have a conservative economic profile

- Just a small minority share liberal economic views

- The national economic mindset is conservative-oriented

- Protectionism increases economic conservatism in a medium rate

- Most men and women are conservative

- Men are slighter more conservative than women

- The Center is the region with most conservatives living

- Lisbon and the North, have similar economic conservative majorities

- The most conservative is the Center, followed by Lisbon and the North

6.8 Gender

6.8.1 Men

- Issues to address: Conservative values; Protectionist policies; Economic policies

- Issues to avoid: Euro-skeptic policies; Immigration policies

6.8.2 Women

- Issues to address: Conservative values; Protectionist policies; Economic policies

- Issues to avoid: Euro-skeptic policies; Immigration policies

6.9 Age Group

6.9.1 [18-24]

- Issues to address: Conservative values; Protectionist policies; Economic policies

- Issues to avoid: Euro-skeptic policies; Immigration policies

6.9.2 [25-39]

- Issues to address: Conservative values; Protectionist policies; Economic policies

- Issues to avoid: Euro-skeptic policies; Immigration policies

6.9.3 [40-59]

- Issues to address: Conservative values; Nationalist policies; Protectionist policies; Economic policies

- Issues to avoid: Euro-skeptic policies; Immigration policies

6.9.4 [60+]

- Issues to address: Conservative values; Nationalist policies; Protectionist policies; Economic policies

- Issues to avoid:

6.10 Region

6.10.1 North

- Issues to address: Conservative values; Protectionist policies; Economic policies

- Issues to avoid: Euro-skeptic policies; Immigration policies

6.10.2 Center

- Issues to address: Conservative values, Protectionist policies, Economic policies

- Issues to avoid: Euro-skeptic policies; Immigration policies

6.10.3 Lisbon

- Issues to address: Conservative values; Protectionist policies; Economic policies

- Issues to avoid: Euro-skeptic policies; Immigration policies

6.11 Main Target

Issues that voters agree with PNP:

	Profile	Nationalism	EU	Protectionism	Islamophobia	Immigration	Economics
Men	x			x			x
Women	x			x			x
18-24	x			x			x
25-39	x			x			x
40-59	x	x		x			x
60+	x	x		x			x
North	x			x			x
Center				x			x
Lisbon	x			x			x

The groups of people which PNP can relate the most, are people older than 39 who live in Lisbon and in the North of Portugal.

9.Validation Table

Type of analysis	Research Questions	Validation
Electorate	RQ1: Do personal values help political parties build their voters persuasive list?	The people with the highest levels of conservatism, are more likely to vote for PNP **(True)**
	RQ2: Do they indicate PA who to target?	PNP's main target are people older than 39 who live in both Lisbon and in the North of Portugal **(True)**
	RQ3: Would they tell PA what people like?	The answer people gave, reveals their preferred option **(Partially True)**
	RQ4: Would they tell them what people dislike?	The answer respondents didn't choose, shows what they don't like **(True)**
	RQ5: Can conservative and liberal values reveal how a person is going to vote?	Although their answers can give PA a clue on how they are going to vote, there is no guarantee regarding their final voting decision **(Partially True)**
Engagement	RQ1: Do personal ideologies show PA how to create long-term relationships with voters?	People tend to relate with candidates who share the same view on issues **(True)**
	RQ2: Would they show politicians how to engage with people?	Pushing values that people admire, helps PA to engage with them **(True)**
	RQ3 Can liberal or conservative views tell PA where to reach their electorate?	PNP's most popular regions are in Lisbon and in the North of Portugal **(True)**
	RQ4: Can liberal or conservative views tell PA how to reach voters?	Talking about issues that are important for people, helps PA to get their attention **(True)**
Financial	RQ1: Do voters' personal ideologies help PA how to reduce advertisement costs?	There is no indication of such thing **(False)**
	RQ2: Do Voters' personal ideologies help PA how to optimize advertisement investments?	Big Data and Consumer targeting helps delivering the right message to the right person **(True)**

	RQ3: Can they reveal how much money PA need to spend?	There is no indication of such thing **(False)**
Behavioral	RQ1: Can liberal and conservative views tell how a politician should act?	PNP knows what issues they should address when talking to some groups of people **(True)**
	RQ2: Do they show how to control public opinion?	Conservative and liberal values can contribute to manage public opinion **(Partially True)**
	RQ3: Can liberal and conservative views tell what politicians should avoid?	PNP knows what issues they should avoid when talking to some groups of people **(True)**

10.   Research Limitations

The first limitation identified is related to the amount of respondents collected from the survey. Some of the sub-groups did not provide a liable representation of public opinion. Most regions of the country, educational levels, races, or group ages, did not have enough people to build plausible assumptions, and can only serve as a simulation tool to how a political targeting may be conducted.

The second limitation is associated to the ambiguity of the topic, as there is no limit to what type or amount of information is fit to participate in this research. The survey's questions came from the framer's sensibility to the topic.

11.   Ideas for future research

The targeting conducted in the methodology is flexible enough to incorporate any variable that the marketer finds appropriated. One of the framer's recommendation for a political targeting of this source, is "Party Affiliation". This variable allows campaign managers to understand what partisan issues are related to those of their own party.

Secondly, in order to strength the relevance of this method, it would be interesting to find new and improved ways to mass-collect answers from surveys or other opinion gathering means.

The last recommendation of the framer, urges further investigation on Portuguese Lobbying. Lobbying is a key player in American politics, and lots of information can be found on this topic. But in Portugal, there is not much research on this matter, and besides contributing to ways of understanding and educating people about its effects on politics, it has the potential to deliver a more transparent and open form of democracy.

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12. Annexes

Annex 1 – PAC's spending

Spending Spree

Some conservative groups have spent most of their donors' money to raise more cash this year

● **TOTAL INCOME**
● **SPENDING ON FUNDRAISING**

$1.2 MILLION $0.9 MILLION
$2.0 MILLION $1.7 MILLION
$6.0 MILLION $4.6 MILLION

NATIONAL DRAFT BEN CARSON FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
AMERICAN LEGACY PAC
OUR COUNTRY DESERVES BETTER PAC
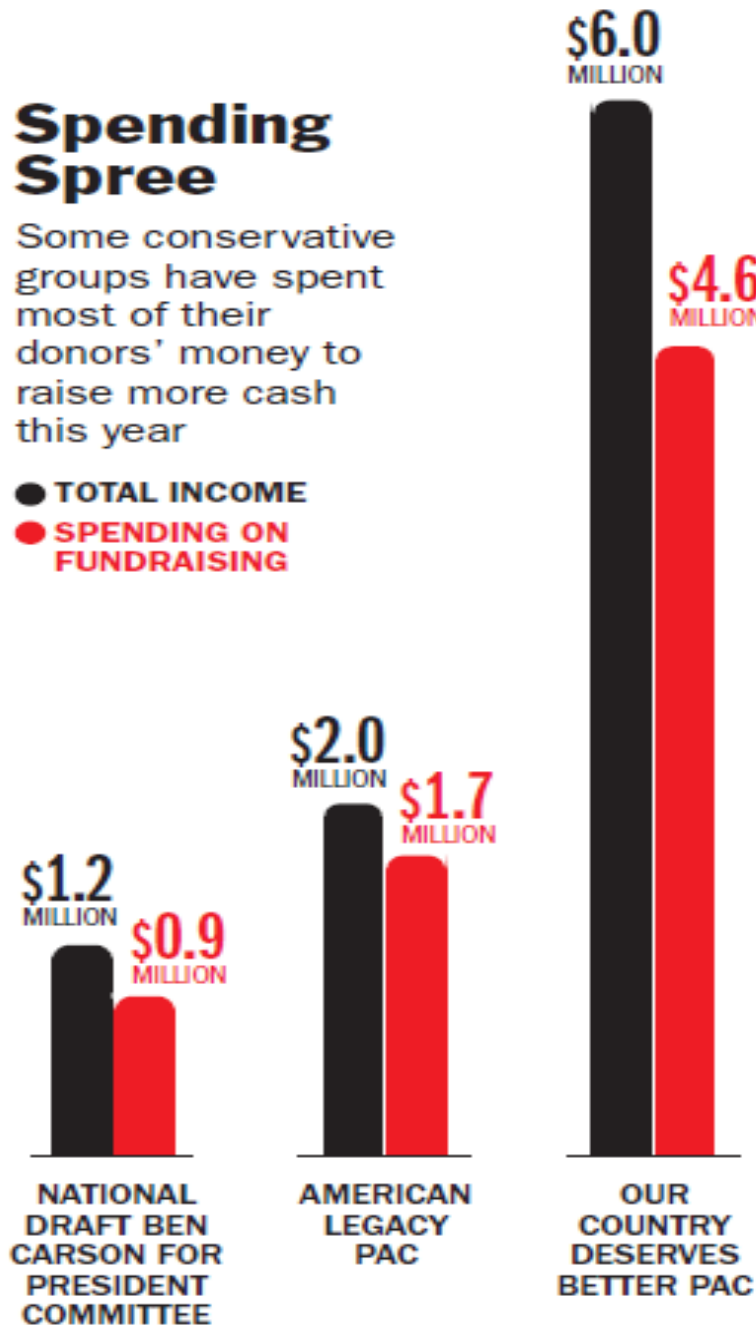
Figure 3 - PAC's Spending (Scherer, 2014)

Annex 2 - Ad spending

Obama vs. Romney:
Ad Spend Outcomes during the 2012 Campaign[6]

Committee	Spending	No. of Times Ad Aired	Cost per Ad Aired
Obama (OFA)	$333,000,000	562,664	$592
Romney	$147,000,000	223,584	$657

Figure 4 – Ad Spending (Fulgoni, et al., 2016)

Costs for a $554,000 CPM-optimized buy rose to $278 from $73 while delivering nearly four times fewer impressions …

Presidential CPM Example

7,582,334

Las Vegas

Presidential R&F* Example

1,988,055

Las Vegas
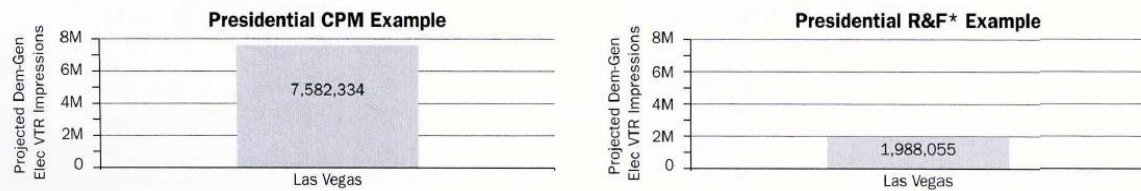
Figure 5 – Costs per impression vs Reach and frequency goals

Annex 3 - Tone of media coverage
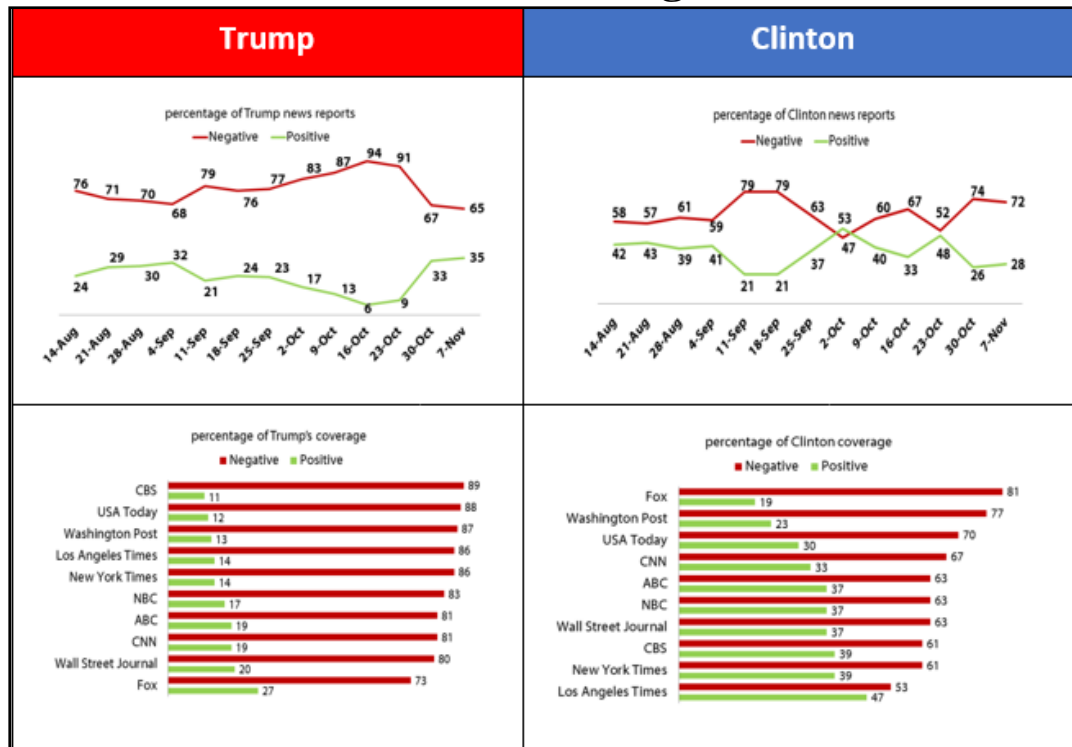
Table 2 – Tone of media coverage (Patterson, 2016)

Annex 4 - Gun ownership

Figure 6 – Gun Ownership 2015 (Kiersz & LoGiurato, 2015)

Annex 5 - Demographic maps

Black Population, by State, 2010-2011

12% of Total U.S. Population

Legend:
- Less than 2% (12 states)
- 2-6% (12 states)
- 6-20% (18 states)
- More than 20% (8 states, including DC)
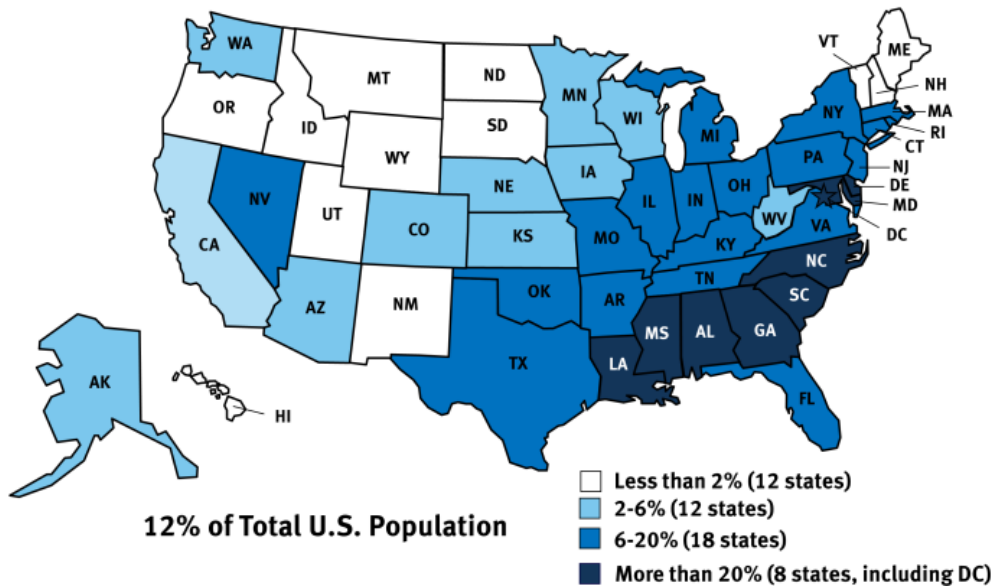
Figure 7 – African Americans by State 2010 (Duckett & Artiga, 2013)

Percent of Hispanic and Latino population by state in 2012.

Legend:
- >35 %
- <35 %
- <20 %
- <10 %
- <6 %
- <3 %
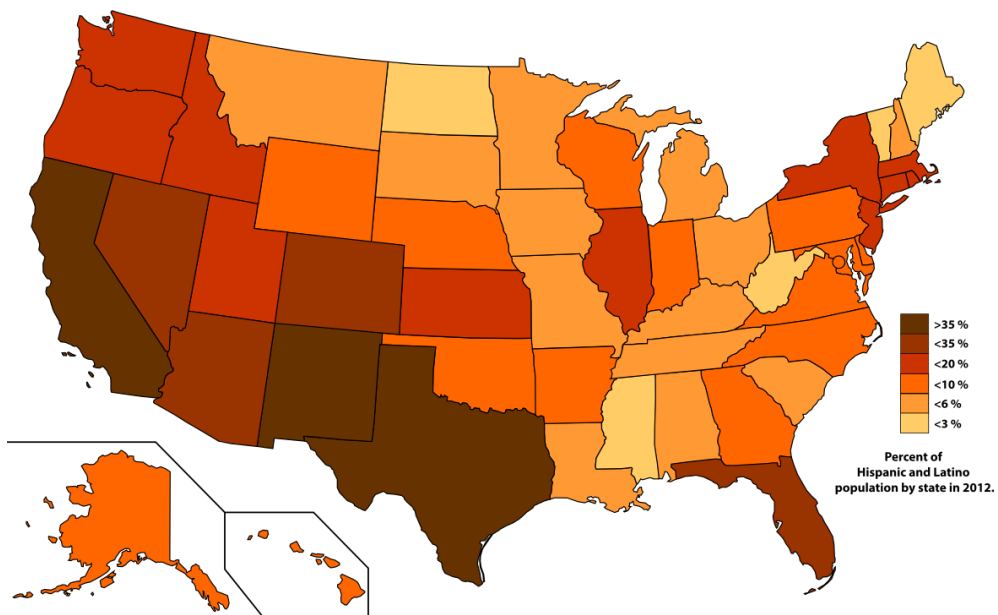
Figure 8 – Hispanics and Latinos by State 2012 (Wikipedia, 2016)

Annex 6 - Electoral results, 2008-2016
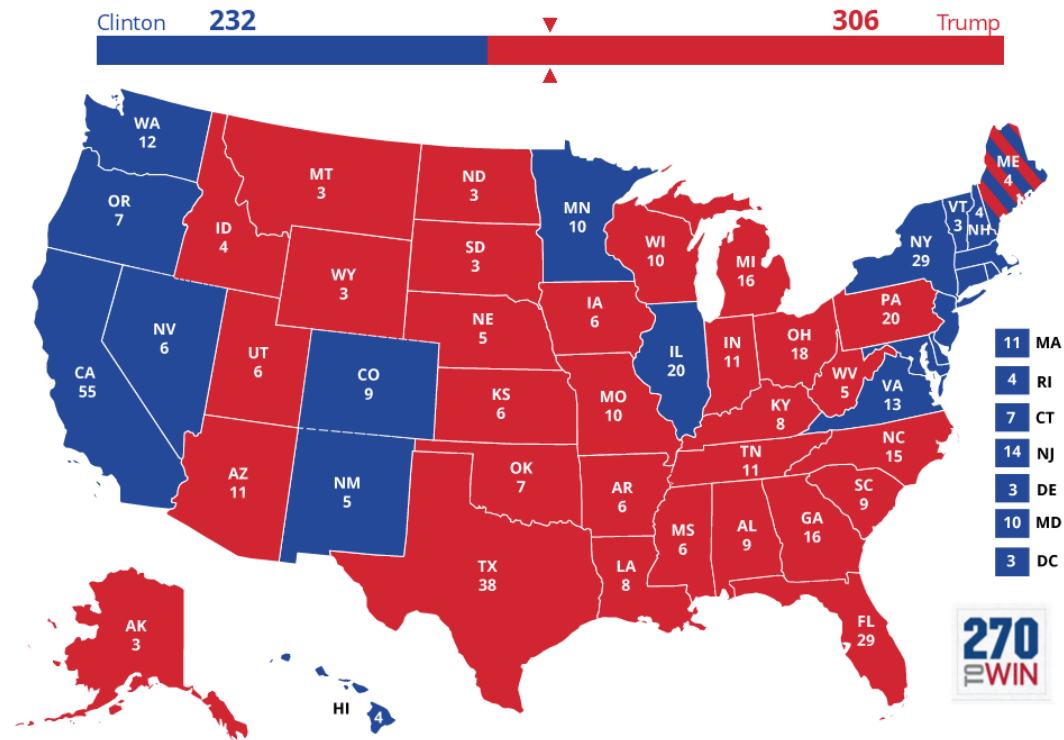
Figure 9 – Election Results 2016 (270 To Win, 2016)
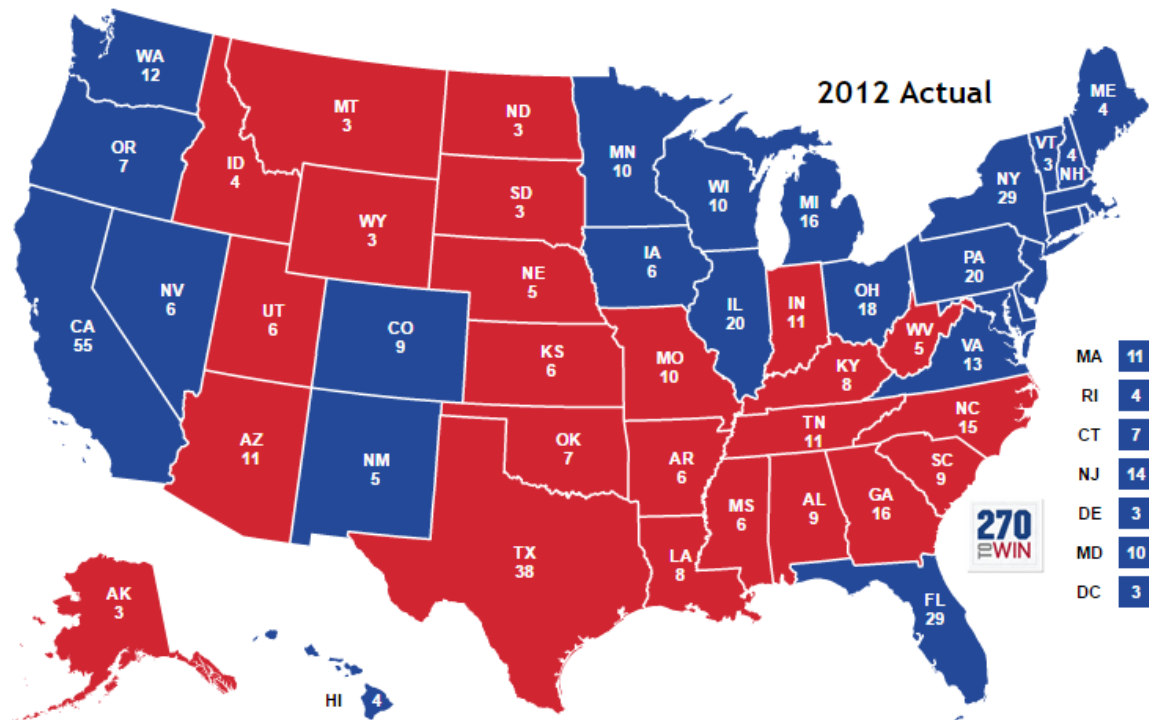
Figure 10 – Election Results 2012 (270 to Win, 2012)
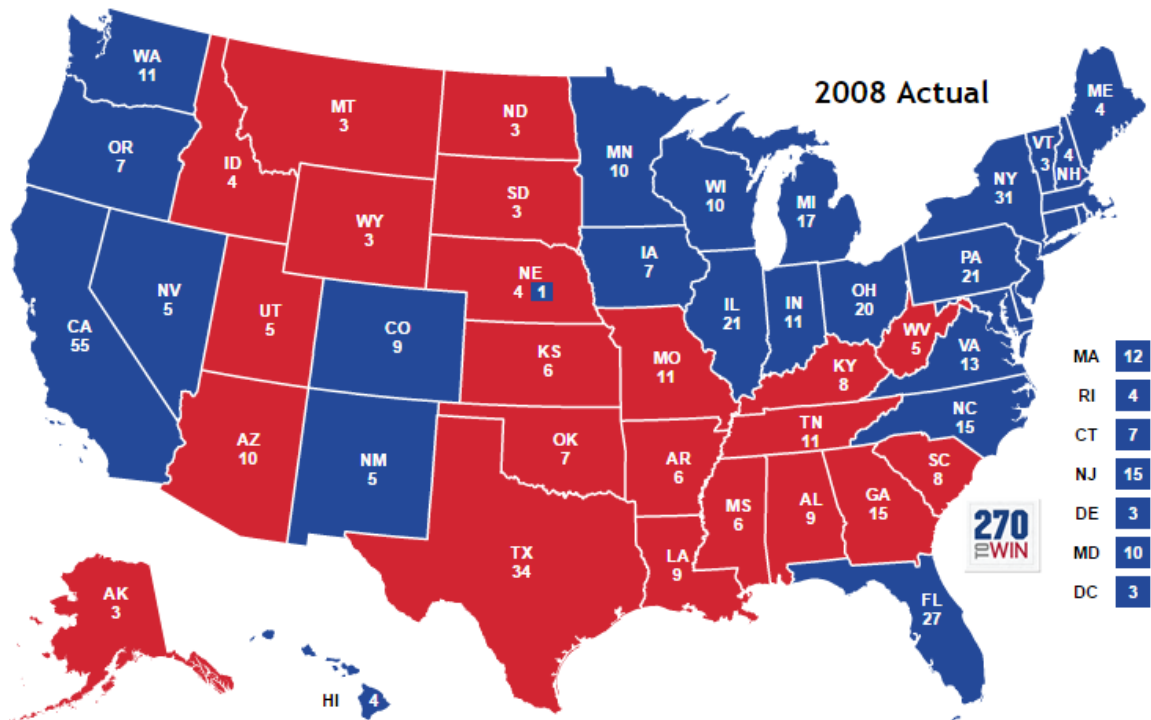
Figure 11 – Election Results 2008 (270 To Win, 2008)

Annex 7 - Voting Demographics

race			
	clinton	trump	other/no answer
white 71%	37%	**57%**	6%
black 12%	**89%**	8%	3%
latino 11%	**66%**	28%	6%
asian 4%	**65%**	27%	8%
other race 3%	**56%**	36%	8%
24558 respondents			

race			
	clinton	trump	other/no answer
white 71%	37%	**57%**	6%
non-white 29%	**74%**	21%	5%
24558 respondents			

*Figure 12 – 2016 Voting Demographics **Fonte especificada inválida.***

Vote by Race

TOTAL	OBAMA	ROMNEY	OTHER / NA
White:72%	39%	59%	2%
African-american:13%	93%	6%	1%
Latino:10%	71%	27%	2%
Asian:3%	73%	26%	1%
Other:2%	58%	38%	4%

Vote by Race

Total	D Obama	R McCain	O Other/No Answer
White (74%)	43%	55%	2%
African-American (13%)	95%	4%	1%
Latino (9%)	67%	31%	2%
Asian (2%)	62%	35%	3%
Other (3%)	66%	31%	3%

*Figure 14 – 2012 Voting Demographics***Fonte especificada inválida.**

Figure 13 – 2008 Voting Demographics **Fonte especificada inválida.**
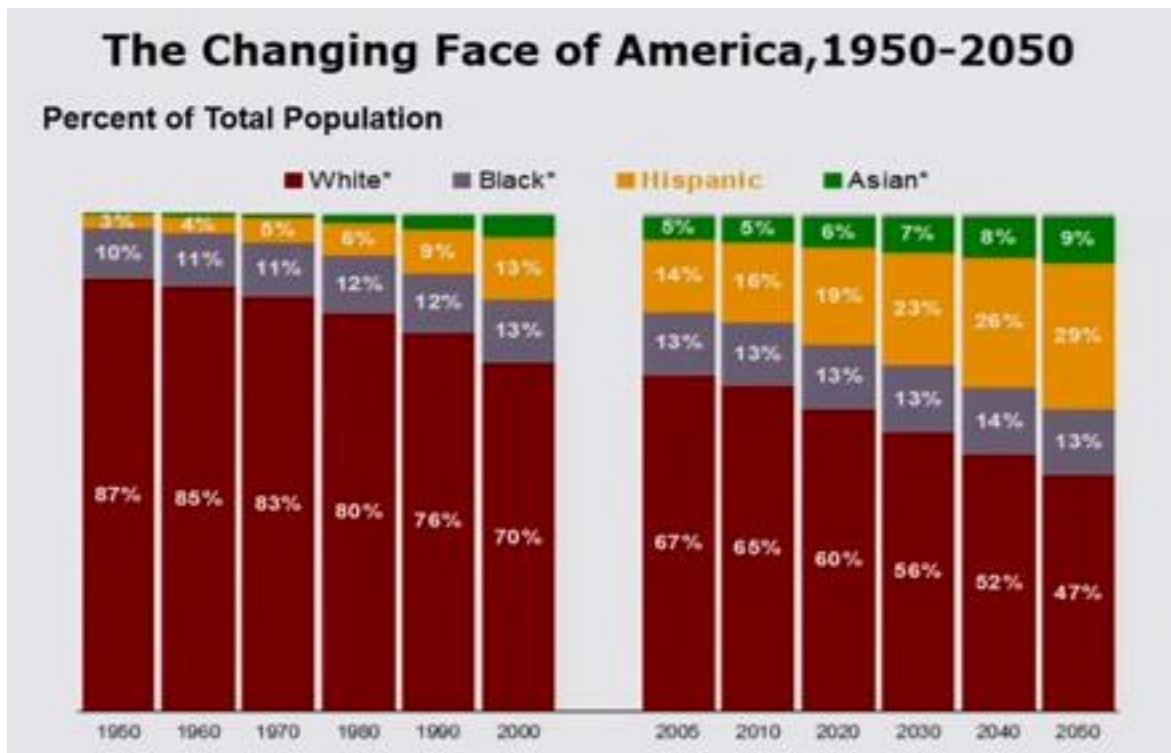
Figure 15 – American Demographics (Cohen, 2013)

Annex 8 – Online Engagement
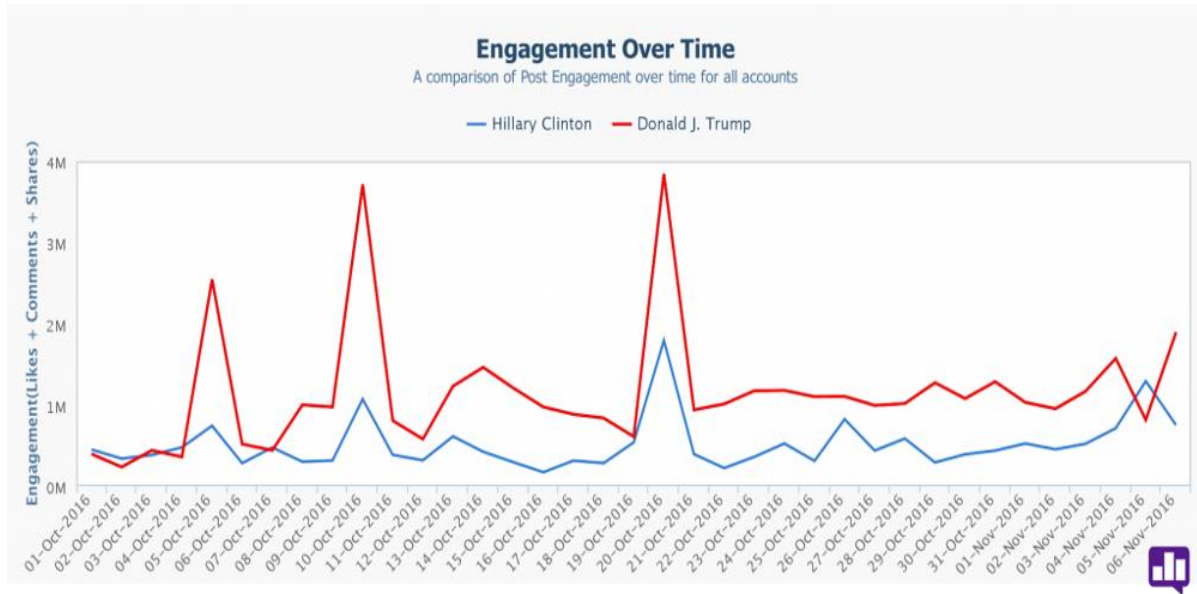
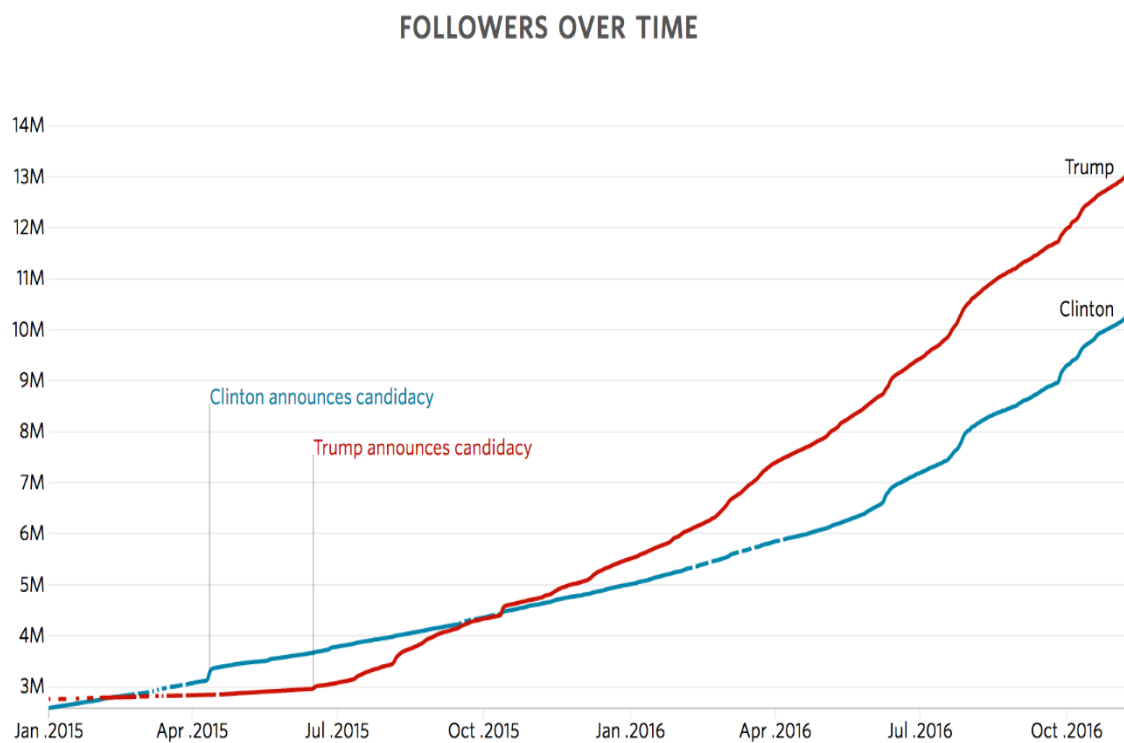*Figure 16 – Facebook Follwers (Meyer, 2016)*

FOLLOWERS OVER TIME

Figure 17 – Twitter Followers (Keegan, 2016)

Annex 10 – Anti Muslim assaults

Anti-Muslim assaults at highest level since 2001

Anti-Muslim assaults reported to the FBI

Note: Includes simple and aggravated assaults.
Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation

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© Pew Research
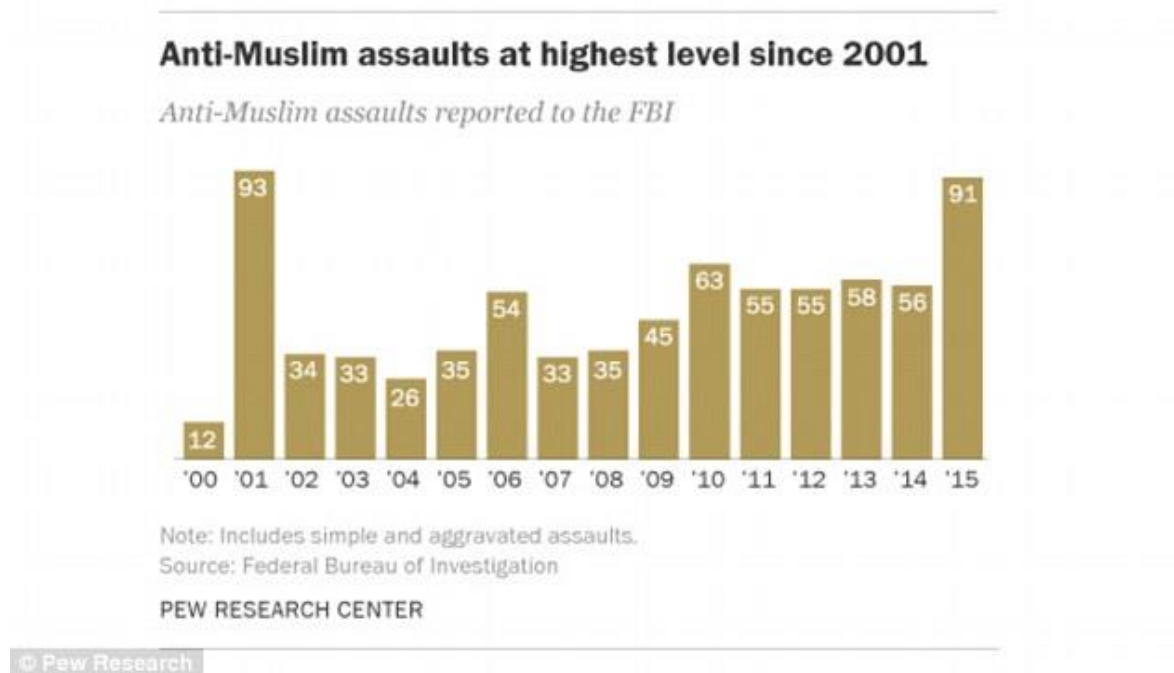
Table 3 - Islamophobia rate (Wilkinson, 2016)

Annex 11 – Survey

Welcome! The following survey is meant to discover the personal preferences of Portuguese in different contexts. The questionnaire is divided in 25 questions. You will be given 2 options per question. Please select the one which you relate the most. Remember that there are no wrong answers!

1. Gender:
• Male
• Female

2. Age:
• 18-24
• 25-39
• 49-59
• 60+

3. Race:
• Caucasian
• Black
• Brown
• Other

4. Place of Residence:
• North

- Center
- Metropolitan area of Lisbon
- Alentejo
- Azores
- Madeira

5. Education
- Middle School
- High School
- Bachelor's Degree
- Master's Degree
- Doctorate
- Other

6. What is (in your opinion) more important for children to have?
- Proper education
- Freedom to do the things they love

7. What would you appreciate more in your children?
- Curiosity
- Good manners

8. What do you think is more important for young people to have?
- Respect for elders
- Respect for a different race/ethnicity

9. What do you treasure the most?
- National culture, history and tradition
- Culture diversity

10. What would you choose if you were given these 2 options?
- Strict borders
- Open borders

11. Do you think multiculturalism can be dangerous?
- Yes
- No

12. Would you feel comfortable if a family from the Middle East comes live next to you?
- Yes
- No

13. What is more important for you?
- Free movement of people
- Immigration control

14. Should Government protect Portuguese jobs first?
• Yes • No

15. Do you trust the European Union to decide the legislation of your country?
• Yes • No

16. Do you think Portugal should put its national interests over European ones?
• Yes • No

17. Are you happy with the European Union's performance?
• Yes • No

18. Do you support the free market? (Consider it to be a market where everyone can compete without restrictions)
• Yes • No

19. Regarding companies, do you think there should be:
• High regulation • Some regulation

20. Choose the best option for you:
• A Government should intervene in a competitive market on behalf of its economy • A Government should let a competitive market run by itself

21. Do you think capitalism is?
• Good • Bad

22. Do you think the Government should prioritize "made in Portugal" products?
• Yes • No